



Title: Adaptation for knowing audiences – analysing fan on-line responses to fidelity and deviation in film adaptation

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**ADAPTATION FOR KNOWING AUDIENCES –
ANALYSING FAN ON-LINE RESPONSES TO
FIDELITY AND DEVIATION IN FILM ADAPTATION**

by

Samantha Pearce

A thesis submitted to the University of Bedfordshire in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of Master of Arts by Research

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ABSTRACT

Adaptation theory has historically viewed film as hierarchically and artistically inferior to the book, measuring the success or failure of an adaptation on the grounds of fidelity. More recent critics have challenged the possibility and the desirability of fidelity when adapting one medium to another, proposing other tropes to validate the adaptive process such as intertextuality and contextuality. By examining the online *Twilight* fan community as an example of a 'knowing audience', acquainted with both novel and adapted film, this thesis considers the tensions that exist between fidelity and deviation by analysing the fans' responses to the altered ending of the film adaptation *Breaking Dawn – Part 2* (2012). Having conducted a systematic cataloguing exercise of this online fandom, unprompted online fan discussion from a sub-set of key fan sites was analysed, uncovering the startling reaction of fans to the film's unexpected ending. This study identifies fan audiences as intensive readers, collaborators and viewers of adapted texts and suggests the creative and commercial advantages to be gained from a collaborative and open dialogue between adaptors and fans. It also challenges the assumed superiority of the novel and the author's authority over canon and narrative, and reveals the unexpected added pleasure derived from a deviation from canon.

Keywords: Adaptation, fandom, online fan communities, *Twilight*, reading audiences, film audiences, fidelity, canon, collaboration, screenwriting, franchise, Stephenie Meyer, Melissa Rosenberg, Bill Condon

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Arts by Research at the University of Bedfordshire.

It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

Name of candidate: **Samantha Pearce**

Signature:

Date:

The thesis, not including References and Appendices, is 29,953 words

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EXPLANATORY NOTES ABOUT FORUMS

In my thesis I refer to a number of online textual sources including discussion boards, blogs, websites and Facebook pages. In the reference section I have listed links to all forum threads used, numbered sequentially in the order they appear in my findings. Due to the transient nature of online data, some of these links no longer exist and have been marked accordingly.

When making a direct quote from an online source, wherever possible I have quoted the user name, date and time of the comment, to provide a method of unique identification. In the case of two forums (twilightmoms.com and twilightsaga.com) I did not record the date and time information at the time of capture and these threads no longer exist online, so in these instances I am only able to attribute a name to these quotes.

In order to attribute each quote to the correct discussion thread, web page or Facebook post, and to avoid unnecessary repetition of thread names, I have added a numerical reference in a smaller font size after the name, date and time details, e.g. (corona, 16 Nov 2012, 12:53)₂, for added clarification.

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1. Introduction

At five minutes past midnight on 16th November 2012 I sat amongst fellow *Twilight* fans in my local cinema awaiting the conclusion of a five-year cinematic journey. *Breaking Dawn - Part 2* (2012) was the fifth and final film adaptation in the *Twilight* franchise, which had spanned more than seven years since the publication of its first novel, *Twilight*, on 5th October 2005.

The films in the franchise had all been released exactly one year apart, amidst much hype from the media and much expectation from fans. This final adaptation, however, had generated the greatest expectation. Not only was it the *final* film, marking the end of the saga and perhaps the start of fandom's demise, but, uniquely, it had been widely reported in the media that the ending of this film would differ from the book's ending. The question was, how would the fans, who had invested so much time and emotion in the *Twilight* storyworld and its characters, react to this break in fidelity.

1.1. Why *Twilight*

The *Twilight* saga is an adaptation franchise that has stayed close to its source. Its author has had continued input and involvement in the films adapted from her four novels, appearing in cameo roles in two films, acting as producer on the two most recent films and collaborating with the screenwriter to re-write the ending of the final film, thereby effectively changing the ending of her own book.

The *Twilight* phenomenon has prompted academic analysis because of its exceptional popularity (Anatol 2011, Bode 2010, Clarke 2010, Click, Aubrey et al. 2010, Larsson and Steiner 2011, Wilson 2011) and come under some criticism for

perceived anti-feminist and pro-Mormon messages directed at its almost exclusively female fan base. However, commercially, the franchise has been a huge success, with the five *Twilight* films — *Twilight* (2008), *New Moon* (2009), *Eclipse* (2010), *Breaking Dawn - Part 1* (2011) and *Breaking Dawn - Part 2* (2012) —being the 9th highest grossing franchise at the US box office, with total domestic earnings of \$1,363.5 million (boxofficemojo.com, May 2014).

Director of the first film adaptation, Catherine Hardwicke, along with author Stephenie Meyer and screenwriter Melissa Rosenberg, established *Twilight* as a uniquely ‘female-driven franchise’ (Abele 2012, p.142). From beginning to end the *Twilight* adaptation process might be described as a ‘labour of love’ between the adaptation team and the *Twilight* fandom, and has prospered from a continued sense of connectivity and dialogue. Hardwicke was a self-confessed fan of the book herself and saw her challenge as finding ‘how to take Stephenie’s powerful emotions – delirious, obsessive, hypnotic, profound love and put that on screen’ (Hardwicke 2009). Despite only directing one of the five films, Hardwicke was instrumental in setting the tone of the adaptations, both visually and musically, as well as making crucial casting decisions, the success of which has helped to fuel interest in the franchise.

Meyer has a history of connecting and interacting with fans, and the success of the series is largely attributed to this engagement, as she ‘figured out before almost anyone in the book industry how to connect with readers over the Internet and inspire them to build on her work’ (Green 2008). Meyer signed up to the early *Twilight* fan sites and chatted to fans, answering their questions about the storyworld she had created. She arranged ‘I Love Edward’ parties in libraries and bookstores and threw *Twilight* Proms, attended by hundreds of fans. Like other bestselling young adult fiction such as *Harry Potter* and *The Hunger Games* series, the *Twilight* books and films appealed to both a teen and adult audience, including a large following of ‘Twilight Moms’ with their own

dedicated fan site boasting 45,347 members and 2,675,781 posts (as at 1/8/12). In December 2007 Meyer introduced herself on the www.twilightmoms.com chat forum: 'Hi, my fellow moms....I've been lurking this site for a while...It's just so cool that I'm not the only 30+ mom and wife in love with fictional underage vampires and werewolves. I feel much less pathetic.' Through her informal and imaginative interaction with fans, both online and off, Meyer helped to create what has been described as the 'first social networking best-seller' (Drayton quoted in Green, 2008, para2).

In more recent years screenwriter Melissa Rosenberg and director Bill Condon have built upon this inclusive relationship and used Facebook to maintain contact and encourage communication with fans. Whilst in the midst of the adaptation process, Rosenberg has openly requested feedback and opinion from fans, allowing them the chance to have an input into the translation of stories they treasure from page to screen.

There has also been a strong bond formed between the fans and the actors, all of whom were relative unknowns when they were first cast in the roles, and this has informed and influenced the actors' interpretations of the roles and their performances:

"The fans are the people we make these movies for," says Taylor. "We wanted to bring these characters to life for fans who have known them longer than we have. They know these characters inside out. And though as an actor you want to bring parts of yourself to a role, you had to be careful because you're playing a character that millions of fans are in love with." (Abele 2012, p.142)

Importantly for this research project, the *Twilight* film franchise is also significant because it is born from a book-reading audience. The fandom was firmly established online long before the launch of the first film in November 2008, because: 'What set *Twilight* apart was the way teens tracked down fellow readers immediately after closing the books. Within a month of the first book's

release, fan sites began to appear' (Green 2008). The film adaptations may have brought the saga to a wider audience, but they have also succeeded in directing cinema audiences back to the books, in a cyclic effect:

The movies have only enhanced the stature of the novels. "The books were always a big seller to start with," notes Laura Byrne-Cristiano of the fan site *Twilight Lexicon*. "Stephenie had thousands of people at the book signings for *BREAKING DAWN* before there was even a movie out. But I think the movies brought the books from what I would call superstar level to stratosphere level. I know so many people who saw the movie and then picked up all the books." (Abele 2012, p.142)

1.2. Purpose, Aims and Methodology

The purpose of this study is to highlight the unique set of circumstances which succeeded in creating a particularly receptive environment for collaborative and creative adaptation. This study will demonstrate the strength and longevity of the *Twilight* online fan base and the benefits to be gained from the long-term connectedness between fans and the adaptation team. It will also highlight the strong interrelationship between the *Twilight* books and films, achieved largely by the author's continued involvement in the adaptation process and the opportunities gained by her willingness to embrace criticism and to rework her own text collaboratively.

Meyer lists on her personal website, www.stepheniemeyer.com, links to all the *Twilight* fan sites and blogs around the world known to her. This list of 377 fan sites has formed the basis of this research project. Having carried out a cataloguing exercise of this online fan base, a sub-set of key, longstanding fan communities were identified, whose members display an in-depth knowledge of the *Twilight* novels and who would therefore experience the adaptation of *Breaking Dawn - Part 2* (2012) as an informed and critical 'knowing audience'. Using grounded theory methodology, the forum discussions were subjected to in-depth content analysis, focusing on the fans' reaction to the film in relation to

their knowledge of the book. The results are presented as thematic coding, with site content analysis and fan responses categorized and presented under theme headings which arise from patterns emerging from the research.

Early studies of adaptation regarded films as an inferior by-product of their originating texts, however this study aims to test the hypothesis that adaptation can elevate a book for a 'knowing audience' and rather than experience any sense of loss in the translation from page to screen, a knowing audience can gain added enjoyment and understanding of the original text through its film adaptation. Specifically this study will focus on the *Twilight* fandom's response to the *alteration* of the ending of *Breaking Dawn - Part 2* (2012) and examine whether the use of creative and collaborative approaches to adaptation can give knowledgeable and expectant fans all they want from a film adaptation... and more.

2. Literature Review

2.1. Adaptation

2.1.1. *The problem with Adaptation*

From the outset, the study of adaptation presents a fundamental problem, as the term can be used as both a noun and a verb, referring either to ***an end product*** (for example, a film based upon a book, or a computer game based on a TV series) or to ***a process*** (the method by which a film/ gaming team takes the words from the page and re-imagines them for the screen/games console). Discourse surrounding the term has oscillated between the two meanings and in my thesis I will be exploring the two aspects concurrently, focusing on the adaptation process from novel to film by examining the film adaptation of *Breaking Dawn - Part 2* (2012), which is very closely related to its source book, and to the collaborative adaptation process that the author, screenwriter and director adopt to bring the book to life.

As well as the double syntactical function of the word itself, adaptation study also reveals 'a series of binary oppositions that poststructuralist theory has taught us to deconstruct: literature versus cinema, high culture versus mass culture, original versus copy', and so, by association, good versus bad (Naremore 2000, p.2). To a large extent, the journey that adaptation study has taken since its infancy in the 1950s has focused on addressing these oppositions and exploring whether it is indeed possible to view an adaptation as anything other than a reflection of its originating text. My research too will contain a large element of comparison between book and film, but rather than examining how the film adaptation compares to the book in a simplistic 'good or bad' way, my

research aims to examine if one particular film can surpass its originating book, outshine its textual source and elevate the reading experience of its intensely knowledgeable fans.

In her presentation *The changing of Adaptation Studies: From the classic adaptation to transmedia convergence* at The University of Bedfordshire in October 2013, Professor of Film and Television Christine Geraghty classified the five stages of Adaptation Studies as fidelity, media specificity, intertextuality, contextuality and convergence. Whilst these stages have not been linear and chronological in their progression, it is useful to use these five approaches as a framework for my initial exploration of the discourse surrounding adaptation study, and to explain that, whilst theorists may have examined the more far-reaching strengths and functions of adaptation, the notion of fidelity *is* still important today, particularly to certain types of audience.

2.1.2. Early film and adaptation studies

In the early days of the film industry there was an increasing requirement for adaptable stories, so many filmmakers turned to the world of literature for their inspiration. As a capitalist industry, Hollywood recognised that 'it could gain a sort of legitimacy among middle class viewers by reproducing facsimiles of more respectable art or by adapting literature to another medium' (Naremore 2000, p.4). However they did so initially without the author's permission which led to problems in terms of copyright and the landmark *Ben Hur* case of 1907. Tighter copyright laws led to what Edward Azlant referred to as 'scenario fever' - a rush by the large production companies to find original stories that would be less expensive, and legally less complicated, to option than successful books and plays. This also forced changes upon the film industry as:

The move to find and tell original stories also contributed to a change in film style. When audiences were expected to know the plot beforehand, filmmakers only needed to illustrate and remind. Now that films were

telling longer, more original stories, filmmakers needed to narrate as well as illustrate. (Decherney 2012, p.56)

Early film adaptations aimed for a faithful reproduction of an originating text and critical studies on adaptation (Cartmell and Whelehan 1999) concentrated on comparison by looking at similarities and differences between content and technique. Such studies viewed film adaptations as reductive and commercially driven (Bluestone 1957, p.42). In his influential 1957 book *Novels into Film* George Bluestone was the first critic to look at the process of turning a book into a film. However his language betrayed a disrespect for film, describing it as 'precocious' (p.16) and 'omnivorous' (p.219). In contrast, the novel 'because its history is longer and its materials more refined.... is more complex' (p.7), and he infers that 'the end products of novella and film represent different aesthetic genera, as different as from each other as ballet and architecture' (p.5). The original text was seen as hierarchically 'best' with the film somehow having to live up to its originating source. Bluestone viewed adaptation as a trend which, when it was exhausted, would 'yield less disappointing lead' (p.219). But adaptation has not gone away and the appeal of the novel transformed into film is as strong as ever.

As a new medium, film was viewed with far less reverence than the study of literature that had long preceded it. Critics at that time viewed adaptations in an unfavorable light. Early film may have been new, innovative and exciting but the language of film narrative was limited compared to what we know of cinematic techniques today. So it might be argued that, for his time, Bluestone made a valid point and that films were indeed a poorer version of their books, as the limitations of a fledgling film industry could not, at that stage, compete with the established industry of writing and publishing, nor with their readers' imaginations. But so it follows that, as cinema and television have developed and advanced, so too has the perception of adaptations and the discourse relating to them. Film Studies departments now take their place in universities alongside

Literature departments, raising the cultural status of film within our society, and as techniques have improved, so too have the quality of adaptations, leading to analysts demonstrating and evaluating the specific strengths and limitations of each genre on their own merits.

Media specificity 'assumes that every medium is inherently "good at" certain things and "bad at" others' (Stam 2000, p.58). In her collection of 1969 to 1972 movie reviews *Deeper into Movies*, film critic Pauline Kael generalises that:

Movies are good at action; they're not good at reflective thought or conceptual thinking. They're good at immediate stimulus, but they're not a good means of involving people in the other arts or learning about a subject. The film techniques themselves seem to stand in the way of the development of curiosity. (Hutcheon 2006, p.57)

This common 'lay' perception of the medium concurs with Bluestone's belief in the hierarchical superiority and elitism of literature by re-affirming the belief that cinema lacks depth and intelligence. Addressing this misconception Linda Hutcheon, in her book *A Theory of Adaptation*, distinguishes between the media by contrasting their 'experiential' differences, rather than simply their content and method:

They are, in different ways and to different degrees, all "immersive," but some media and genres are used to *tell* stories (for example, novels, short stories); others *show* them (for instance, all performance media); and still others allow us to interact physically and kinesthetically with them (as in videogames or theme park rides). (Hutcheon 2006, p.xiv)

By differentiating in terms of *how* an audience experiences different forms of media she removes the binary opposition of *good versus bad* with simply *the way it is*. However she then goes on to demonstrate how each experience might be adapted into another, i.e. telling <- -> showing, interacting <- -> telling or showing, thereby setting each opposition up for comparison and judgement once again.

Media specificity is certainly *one* method of explaining, and perhaps validating, the uses and merits of adaptation, however the concept does tend to return always to these same binary oppositions, so whilst it may go *some* way to look at the positive aspects of film adaptation, it does so still from the standpoint of literary primacy.

2.1.3. Intertextuality and Contextuality

Later studies (Cardwell 2002, Cartmell and Whelehan 1999, Griffith 1997, Harrison 2005) focused on the *processes* involved in adaptation rather than the different types of media, advocating it as a springboard for creativity - 'a matter of passing from one form to another, a matter of transposition, of reconstruction' (Mitry 1971, p.1), or as a way to 'extend, enhance and elaborate on their sources' (Harrison 2005, p.xviii).

The notion of fidelity is further challenged by the concept of **intertextuality**. Coined by the semiotician Julia Kristeva, intertextuality describes 'the various relationships that a given text may have with other texts. These intertextual relationships include anagram, allusion, adaptation, translation, parody, pastiche, imitation, and other kinds of transformation.' (Chandler and Munday 2011). It challenges the assumption that an adaptation can be judged purely in relation to its originating book, and proposes 'the original novel as a "resource"' because any book will itself have intertextual influences, based on older stories or myths, and will contain references and allusions to other texts, added consciously or unconsciously by its author (McFarlane 1996, p.10). It also calls into question whether any story can be completely original and suggests that any 'text' must inherently be a patchwork quilt of historical references and influences.

More recently still, **commercial intertextuality** is a term that has been used to 'describe the production and interlinking of texts like blockbuster films or TV series with allied paratexts and products, such as spin-offs, reversionings, promos, online media, books, games and merchandise' (Hardy 2011, p.7). A **paratext**, according to French literary theorist Gérard Genette, is a term for any material which exists within or outside a text, which can be used to contextualize it and create interest. For a book this might include the style of cover design, the blurb on the jacket or celebrity endorsements. For a film this might include posters, teaser trailers and media interviews with the actors. As Genette explains, paratexts 'surround it and extend it..... to ensure the text's presence in the world and as such can bear great influence on how a text is received by its audience (Genette 1997, p.1).

So as well as being influenced and shaped by a multitude of textual references in the past, an adaptation can also be affected by concurrent or subsequent reworkings of its story in various other media forms. This latter notion is particularly relevant to my study, as the online communities of *Twilight* fans, which form the basis of my research, are fuelled by this commercial intertextuality as it extends and prolongs their sense of immersion in the storyworld they love, and provides a form of sustenance between subsequent releases of books or films in the saga.

Another model by which adaptation has been examined is that of **contextuality**. If an adaptation is to be more than just a faithful replication of a book, then perhaps its validation lies in the message it conveys through the context in which it is placed. Contextuality provides a way of *reading* an adaptation. A novel is given one context by its author, in its storyworld, by where it is set, and subliminally by the author's own beliefs and experiences. Added meaning, both social and political, can be attributed to an adaptation by changing the context in which the story is set, in terms of time and place, or by changing the gender or

race of the main protagonists. Of particular interest to my research is how fans can provide an added layer of context through their close reading and analysis of the text, and in this study I will examine how these fan 'readings' can be utilised by the screenwriter and absorbed into the adaptation process.

The term 'adaptation' has had any number of synonyms thrown at it, in an effort to help describe and define *exactly* what can be accomplished through its process:

Adaptation theory has available a whole constellation of tropes – translation, reading, dialogization, cannibalization, transmutation, transfiguration, and signifying – each of which sheds light on a different dimension of adaptation. (Stam 2000, p.62)

I would suggest that these tropes apply more to the film-maker and his critics, and far less to the audience, whose reaction to an adaptation is often more spontaneous and instinctive and the analysis of which requires a different approach.

2.1.4. *The problem with fidelity*

Arguably one of the key theorists to challenge Bluestone's notion of fidelity was Robert Stam, who questioned the possibility, and indeed the desirability, of fidelity at numerous levels. Stam questions the fundamental likelihood of fidelity, given that each person who reads a book will:

...fashion our own imaginary mise-en-scene of the novel on the private stages of our mind. When we are confronted with someone else's phantasy....we feel the loss of our phantasmatic relation to the novel.....When we left the theatre we were sad.....It was not the adaptation of which we have dreamed....It wasn't the film we would have liked to make. Or, more secretly, that we would have liked to live. (Stam 2000, p.54-55)

The concept of fidelity, he argues, makes a number of assumptions, one key conjecture being that a novel contains 'a kernel of meaning or nucleus of events

that can be “delivered” by an adaptation’ (p.57). It also assumes that the author had specific message or intention hidden within the words of their novel. If neither one of these assumptions is, in fact, true then what exactly are filmmakers trying to be faithful to?

It is questionable whether strict fidelity is even possible. A counter-view would insist that an adaptation is automatically different and original due to the change in medium. (p.55)

He goes on to cite the numerous ways in which book and film differ, in order to highlight the incongruity of the notion that one could in any way faithfully ‘realise’ the other – the fact that the novel is a ‘single-track, uniquely verbal medium’ written by a single individual, which ‘can be written on napkins in prison’ compared with the ‘multi-track medium’ of film ‘which can play not only with words (written and spoken), but also with theatrical performance, music, sound effects, and moving photographic images’, is a collaborative process involving a crew of multitudes and ‘a complex material infrastructure – camera, film stock, laboratories – simply in order to exist’ (p.56). By pointing out these far reaching practical differences he seems to negate the very possibility of fidelity. Yet in my research I will argue that fidelity *is* still very much an expectation for fan audiences, by illustrating examples of the seriousness with which fans regard the *Twilight* canon.

2.1.5. The significance of a knowing audience

The allure of the adaptation (and re-adaptation) has led critics to question the fascination for both film-makers and viewers. For the film-maker an adaptation might be an attractive proposition in terms of providing a ready-made audience, an artistic challenge, a vehicle through which to send a new message to a current audience or simply a lucrative source of revenue. For the audience, an adaptation will differ in appeal, depending if the viewer has read the originating book or not. For the non-reader the adaptation might be appealing in terms of

providing an instant way of accessing a story. For the reading viewer the adaptation might appeal in a variety of ways: as a way of satisfying a sense of curiosity, familiarity and immersion; as a means of extending the pleasure they have derived from a book; or by providing a chance to measure their knowledge or their interpretation of the book against those of the film-makers.

For the purposes of my research, I have concentrated solely on the reading viewer or **knowing audience** in order to measure and evaluate their response to an adapted film. For as Hutcheon states: 'To experience it *as an adaptation*... we need to recognize it as such and to know its adapted text, thus allowing the latter to oscillate in our memories with what we are experiencing.' (Hutcheon 2006, p.120-1)

Knowing audiences present both an advantage and a challenge to film-makers. On the one hand they will 'inevitably fill in any gaps in the adaptation with information from the adapted text' (p.121), allowing some flexibility and distillation, whereas on the other hand 'Knowing audiences have expectations – and demands' (p.122) which will necessitate a need for faithfulness and consistency. Moreover, 'for an adaptation to be successful in its own right, it must be so for both knowing and unknowing audiences' (p.121) resulting in the need for a fine balancing act, which needs to *try* and please all the people at least *some* of the time.

As early as 1948 André Bazin was questioning for whom adaptations were being made when he said 'One must first know to what end the adaptation is designed: For the cinema or its audience. One must also realize that most adaptors care far more about the latter than about the former' (Bazin 2000, p.21). So if the film industry continues to make films for the audience, rather than for cinema itself, then we might now ask the question: Are they making adaptations for a reading or non-reading audience? My research will propose that in the case of the

Twilight film franchise, the film adaptations have been made very much with the *reading* audience in mind.

2.1.6. When fidelity still matters – adapted material and fans

The film industry may have taken its initial inspiration from classical literature before taking film adaptation on a more experimental journey, but today Hollywood relies just as heavily on literary sources as it did 100 years ago and audiences 'have continued to want to see what the books "look like".' (McFarlane 1996, p.7). The latest available statistics from the British Film Industry illustrate that 'although only 15% of releases were based on adapted source material, these films accounted for almost half the total box office (48%), clearly demonstrating the popularity and profitability of adapted material (British Film Industry 2014).

Recently Simone Murray has sought to reconceptualise adaptation 'in more concrete industrial, commercial and legal terms' as an 'encompassing economic system' (Murray 2012, p.122) and has identified ways in which the reading audiences of adapted material prove lucrative to production companies in terms of both ticket revenue and tiered levels of pre-production and pre-launch marketing:

Firstly, loyal readers of an acclaimed novel are important chiefly as key, opinion-setting early adopters, whose positive responses to a film adaptation can be used as a launching pad for a broader distribution and publicity campaign... In the second phase of producers' strategy, fan approval can be used as a basis for critical and reviewer praise at key festivals and in the build-up to the awards season.Finally, nominations and especially Academy Award wins, can be leveraged into a mainstream publicity campaign and distribution strategy targeting the mass audience. (Murray 2012, p.133)

In her model, readers and/or fans are instrumental in the first and second stages of an adaptation's PR and marketing, and it is only at the latter stage that the

film company need instigate a traditional marketing campaign to 'the masses', once opinion and interest have already been generated. Economically it clearly makes good sense to harness the interest and influence of the reading audience in this way but it might be argued that the industry does so at a greater risk of failure, given the proportionally higher probability that many of those readers will be disappointed with the reimagining of a book they love, a point that Hutcheon herself raises too:

The more rabid the fans, the more disappointed they can potentially be, however. As Christopher Columbus, director of *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* (2001) put it: "People would have crucified me if I hadn't been faithful to the books" (qtd. In Whipp 2002: H4). (Hutcheon 2006, p.123)

Production companies must therefore seek to balance finance with fidelity for an adaptation to be a critical and commercial success.

2.2. Fans and fan communities

2.2.1. What is a fan?

If a 'knowing audience' has high expectations of a film adaptation, then a self-confessed 'fan' is perhaps the most critical judge of all. There are many theories as to why an individual might become a fan or be attracted to joining a fan community. Historically fans have been depicted in a negative way by the press and by academics. In her essay *Fandom as Pathology: The Consequences of Characterization*, Joli Jensen explores why the concept of fandom often involves images of social and psychological pathology and 'is seen as a psychological symptom of presumed social dysfunction.' (Jensen 1992, p.9)

She discusses the two iconic images of *the fan* as either the 'obsessed individual' (p.9), socially isolated and a loner, or as the 'frenzied or hysterical members of a crowd' (p.11), often depicted by images of a wild mob, screaming weeping teens

or crazed sports fans, all of whom are presented as intellectually weak and easily influenced. It is assumed that fans become 'fanatic' because they are compensating for inadequate lives and that they attend concerts, games, conventions etc to feel a sense of community. She then goes on to illustrate how, and perhaps why, society portrays the fan as deviant as a method of reassuring the establishment of its own respectability, by sanctioning and approving of only:

The rational over the emotional, the educated over the uneducated, the subdued over the passionate, the elite over the popular, the mainstream over the margin; the status quo over the alternative.
(Jensen 1992, p.24-25)

She contends that there is, in fact, little difference between the fan and the aficionado, the sports fan and the opera buff, both sharing, as they do, the same level of knowledge and passion for their subject. What separates them, says Jensen, is a merely a difference in class and status, and having a perceived high or low cultural object of desire. She concludes that the vilification of fans has much to do with elitism, cultural snobbery and, within academia, the conceptualization of the fan as deviant provides personal reassurance for academics of their own normality.

Other commentators too have highlighted the similarities that exist between fans and the rest of society. John Fiske asserts that 'the fan is an "excessive reader" who differs from the "ordinary" one in degree rather than in kind' (Fiske 1992, p.46) while Andrea Macdonald construes that 'fans are people who attend to a text more closely than other types of audience members.' (MacDonald 1998, p.136)

Fans, by definition, function as a sub-culture because they operate beneath the realms of high or established culture. As Fiske defines in his book *Reading The Popular* 'Popular culture is made by various formations of subordinated or disempowered people out of the resources, both discursive and material, that are provided by the social system that disempowers them.' (Fiske 1989, p.2).

Instead of being deviants, Fiske sees fans as disempowered, and argues that their engagement in a like-minded community provides them with cultural capital that they would otherwise lack. So rather than a pathological aberration, Fiske explains and defends fandom in socio-economic terms.

In a later essay *The Cultural Economy of Fandom* Fiske expands upon his metaphor and explains culture as an economy in which people invest and accumulate capital, with high culture (such as opera, theatre and art) legitimised and supported, and popular culture disapproved of and unsupported, and where an individual's cultural capital will depend on his/her age, sex, race, education and social status.

By engaging in a fan community, however, an individual may 'use their self-acquired knowledge and taste to compensate for the perceived gap between their actual (or official) cultural capital, as expressed in educational qualifications, and the socio-economic rewards they bring.' (Fiske 1992, p.34) This provides a useful explanation as to why the teenage and 'mom' audience is so large in the *Twilight* fandom I have used for my research, given that teenagers and women, particularly stay-at-home mums, might perceive themselves to have lower cultural capital, making them prime candidates to benefit from building their own social capital online.

Historically, the ways in which fans could come together would have been at physical face-to-face gatherings such as pop concerts, football matches or Sci-Fi conventions, for example. However today, with a wealth of digital communication channels available to them, fans are able to seek out fellow enthusiasts and converse in a variety of ways, most prolifically online, and because their interaction online is formed of words, pictures or videos on screen, this has made them producers of texts as well as consumers, making these secondary texts readily available and accessible for researchers to examine.

Fiske identifies 3 areas of fan productivity, that is, the way the fans *act* in response to their object of fandom:

- i) **Semiotic productivity** whereby fans use their object of fandom (team, film, book, actor) to create social meaning and identity in their own life (i.e. gaining in confidence by meeting like-minded friends, becoming an aficionado and raising their status amongst fellow fans)
- ii) **Enunciative productivity** whereby fans express their fandom through fan talk or through appearance (i.e. wearing clothes with slogans, or talking about and generating meanings regarding the object of fandom within a like-minded community)
- iii) **Textual productivity** whereby fans are inspired to create their own texts (fan fiction, reviews, photo mash-ups, fan art) which is then circulated within the community, not for money but to gain prestige within fan community

The enunciative aspect is perhaps the most common and prevalent demonstration of fandom and it is this 'fan talk' that I will be examining in my research, in particular how fans respond and make meanings from the film adaptation of *Breaking Dawn - Part 2* (2012). As Fiske notes, 'much of the pleasure of fandom lies in the fan talk that it produces, and many fans report that their choice of their object of fandom was determined at least as much by the oral community they wished to join as by any of its inherent characteristics.' (Fiske 1992, p.38) This is an interesting consideration for my own research group, the large audience of middle-aged women who form the *Twilight* fan base. With very specifically named fan sites such as TwilightMoms.com it begs the question, which came first, mums who liked the *Twilight* books or TwilightMoms, and were further mums drawn to the books and films by seeing their popularity with other

mums, thereby knowing that they would fit in and be accepted within this niche community?

We have seen through Fiske's cultural economy metaphor that, in popular culture, knowledge generates capital, and capital engenders power. This goes some way to explain fans' insatiable longing for information and the glut of material produced on a daily basis, both by fans themselves and by the media companies, to feed this voracious desire. Where fans would have once obtained their 'fix' of news from sports papers, soap magazines or fanzines, they are now able to access daily, if not hourly, updates through Facebook, Twitter, Tumblr etc, and so as avenues for consumption increase so too does the textual productivity, in all its many guises. It is this very sense of communality and collaboration, says Fiske, which sets popular culture apart from traditional 'high' culture:

Official culture likes to see its texts (or commodities) as the creations of special individuals or artists: such a reverence for the artist and, therefore, the text necessarily places its readers in a subordinate relationship to them. Popular culture, however, is well aware that its commodities are industrially produced and... are thus open to the productive reworking, rewriting, completing and to participation in the way that a completed art object is not. (Fiske 1992, p.47)

2.2.2. Fans and convergence culture

Henry Jenkins, a self-confessed 'fan and scholar' (Jenkins 2006[b], p.2) has mapped the changing perception and role of fans, from his 1992 book *Textual Poachers*, written at a time 'when fans were marginal to the operations of our culture, ridiculed in the media, shrouded with social stigma...and often depicted as brainless and inarticulate' (p.1), to his more recent book *Convergence Culture* where fans are now 'central to how culture operates' (p.1).

Today we are at a point of convergence, where the lines between book, TV, game and film have been blurred. In media terms **convergence** can be described as 'any process in which things get closer together' but it has other specific facets, including technological, media industry and cultural convergence, all of which impact on fans and how they respond to and interact with their fan object (Chandler and Munday 2011).

Technological convergence has changed people's reading, viewing and consumption habits, as formerly separate communication technologies have merged together, most notably in the form of the smartphone and the electronic tablet, thereby allowing audiences to read, listen, view and, most importantly, respond to and interact with different forms of media using a single device, whilst on the move, making consumption portable, immediate and ever present.

Within the communication sector itself, markets and industries have been integrated, most notably in the case of media franchises, 'so that print, screens, discs and websites can all be platforms for the same content-provider.' (Chandler and Munday 2011). This **media industry convergence** has resulted in an increase in cross-media forms, as well as a merging of media ownership and control, raising questions concerning copyright and authorship.

Most pertinent to my research is the development of **cultural convergence**, whereby advances in technology have provided ways for audiences to consume, relate, participate and respond to media in such a way that they generate an additional layer of product themselves - thus turning 'this semiotic productivity into some form of textual production that can circulate among - and thus help define - the fan community' (Fiske 1992, p.30) - and representing 'a convergence of media production and consumption characterized by significant audience participation' (Chandler and Munday 2011). It is precisely this prolific audience

participation and fan-generated content which will provide the data for my research project.

2.2.3. The rising status of fan audiences

Jenkins asserts that 'Digitization set the conditions for convergence; corporate conglomerates created its imperative' but it could equally be argued that it is the fan audience who has created its *impetus*, by utilising the opportunities afforded to them to fully engage and participate in their media-community of choice (Jenkins 2006[a], p.11).

As their ability to access, respond to and create media much more readily has evolved, so too are fans able, increasingly, to enter into a dialogue with the originators of this media, be it authors, directors, writers or actors, through the use of the internet and social media.

Convergence therefore must be understood as both a top-down corporate-driven process and a bottom-up consumer-driven process. Media companies are learning how to accelerate the flow of media content across delivery channels to expand revenue opportunities, broaden markets and reinforce consumer loyalties and commitments. Users are learning how to master these different media technologies to bring the flow of media more fully under their control and to interact (and co-create) with other users. (Jenkins and Deuze 2008, p.6)

This interaction with media creators or influencers fosters an even more personal connection with the book, film or TV in question. In 2006 Henry Jenkins wrote about a sub-group of gay and lesbian *Star Trek* fans, the Gaylaxians, who organised a national letter-writing campaign to production company Paramount, appealing to them to include a 'queer' presence in the series, which they felt was discriminatory by its absence. This was not an act of gay activism. As Jenkins explains, 'The people who organised the letter-writing campaign were *Star Trek* fans and, as such, they claimed a special relationship to the series, at once protective and possessive, celebratory and critical' (Jenkins 2006[b], p.93). These

four adjectives – *protective, possessive, celebratory* and *critical* – are indicative of the reciprocal communication flow that I have witnessed between the *Twilight* film-making team and its fans, and my research will go on to examine the online channels through which *Twilight* fans have interacted with the books' author, along with the *Breaking Dawn - Part 2* (2012) film's screenwriter and director, and consider how these individuals have utilised the feedback they have received as part of the adaptation process, thereby demonstrating cultural convergence in action.

Of course, not all audience reaction is positive - 'user-generated content exists both within and outside commercial contexts, and supports as well as subverts corporate control' (Jenkins and Deuze 2008, p.7). Yet, within the fan community, it is evident that even content that challenges and subverts (i.e. slash fan fiction), nonetheless feeds the fandom and succeeds in maintaining interest and engagement, and helps to keep the communities alive.

2.2.4. Fangirls and 'fangirling'

If the status of fandom has been afforded more credence in recent years, there still exists a differentiation between male and female fans, the latter of whom have been designated their own term as a mark of their obsessive interest – *fangirl* - defined by Rhiannon Bury as 'a powerful heteronormative minus-male subject position offered to those of us with female bodies who express admiration for a male celebrity' (Bury 2005, p.31). The term is also used colloquially online as a verb – *to fangirl* over someone or something - and is defined unofficially, yet accepted both within and without the fan communities, as:

fangirling - v. 1. the reaction a fangirl has to any mention or sighting of the object of her "affection". These reactions include shortness of breath, fainting, high-pitched noises, shaking, fierce head shaking as if in the midst of a seizure, wet panties, endless blog posts, etc. (Urban Dictionary 2014)

Yet academic research into female only fandoms has presented a very different picture, of professional and articulate women using a shared interest in a TV series or celebrity to engage in meaningful discussions and enjoy the sense of community this affords. Bury's study *Cyberspaces of Their Own: Female Fandoms Online* (2005) was an early examination of two female only online fan communities, which at that time consisted of female only private mailing lists. The groups Bury studied were small (25 rising to 40 in one group MRKS), educated and middle class - incomparable to the large, international online communities of today, so her findings are coloured by the demographics and size limitations of her sample groups. My own much broader research has uncovered both elements of female fan behaviour described – thoughtful, well-informed discussion juxtaposed with the intense physical and emotional response of the 'fangirl' cited above, and will hopefully bridge the gap between the two extremes, showing female fans as displaying a more complex synthesis of cerebral and physical response.

Bury's work is of particular use to my research as she places the specifically female fan into context in terms of online 'space' and social dynamics, demonstrating historically how females have claimed the spaces and tools afforded to them to build communities. She also analyses the language of female online fan communities as text; however her research ends with 'new' cyberspaces such as blogs and live journals, which is where my research begins and continues.

Of particular interest is Bury's examination of female online communities as a 'heterotopia' (p.166) and the importance of this spatial demarcation. She summarises how, formerly, women had been limited in the spaces they were able to congregate outside of the home, or in their ability to be private in any meaningful way, having neither the independence nor the financial means. This changed for the working classes during the industrial revolution when women

began working in factories, and later in the nineteenth century in offices, and were therefore able to congregate and form communities. Until the 1920s though, large numbers of middle class women were still confined to the home, and with houses becoming increasingly open-plan, their private 'space' had been narrowed to just the kitchen/laundry area. For these women the telephone, invented by men for male business purposes but subverted to meet their own needs, provided a social lifeline when they were physically restricted from meeting friends in person. And so, Bury argues, it was no surprise that women should similarly lay claim to computer and digital technology, subverting it again to seek out other women and form communities in which time and distance have no restrictions.

Whilst the early private female-only mailing lists might have been born out of necessity, due to 'varying degrees of harassment and denigration on the male-dominated forums' (Bury 2005, p.2), it is important to recognise that female fandoms now exist as a conscious choice, to serve a specific purpose and, with names like TwilightMoms and Baker Street Babes 'actively mark themselves out as such in relation to male and/or heterosexual fandom.' (Bury 2005, p.206)

Nancy K Baym published another important study *Talking About Soaps* in 2000, in which she examined the communicative practices in an online, mainly female, soap fan community. Baym followed up this research in 2010 with a more up to date account of online communities - *Personal Connections in the Digital Age* - which examines how digital media affects out interpersonal lives.

Both Bury and Baym agree that females do have a distinct online communication style. Bury's study examined how female fans read and interpret a male-produced narrative and she concludes that 'as female fans, the DDEBs and MRKs read the primary texts paradigmatically, focusing on relationships in general, and romantic relationships.' (Bury 2005, p.206). Also characteristic of her study group

was the perceived importance of 'linguistic capital' (p.130) where status is derived from clever or entertaining use of language:

Witty one-liners, quips, retorts and extended repartee were central features of interaction, functioning to establish and maintain community. (Bury 2005, p.130)

This social flaunting of knowledge and expertise is corroborated by Baym, as she explains how members reap personal reward for their expertise and participation, as it 'enables people to show off for one another their competences in making sense of the genre....and to engage in the social pleasures of performing and garnering praise and admiration.' (Baym 2000, p.126)

Bury also makes reference to the 'dream of disembodiment' (p.3), a principle whereby it was thought that the corporeal body could be left behind when one goes online, losing all reference to gender, place, colour etc. While this is certainly a possibility, and a reality for people who wish to engage in role play, the evidence suggests that both men and women carry their gender-specific traits with them into an online setting and 'rather than being liberated from gender, people perform gender through the ways they communicate .' (Baym 2010, p.66)

It is true that on the fan forums I have examined sex, location, and often age, are still referenced suggesting that female fans do want to be themselves and make *real* connections online. However one must also be conscious that individuals may be presenting a particular *version* of themselves, which can be constructed and controlled over time, and which is less influenced by physical looks and actual social capital than real life.

One of the most exciting elements of new media is that they allow us to communicate personally in what used to be prohibitively large groups. This blurs the boundary between mass and interpersonal communication in ways that disrupt both. (Baym 2010, p.4)

Both Bury and Baym were studying the social construct of and social interaction within female online communities. Baym notes qualities that online communities share with real life communities, namely a shared space, practice and language. Despite being 'virtual', online space is viewed as a personal territory, and within this space routine behaviours are shared. Sometimes these are implicit, but increasingly they are explicit in the form of board 'rules' or FAQs, commonly posted at the top of forums, and which new members are asked to read and adhere to. In addition, common language patterns form within groups – abbreviations and acronyms become 'markers of insider status' (Baym 2010, p.78). Similarly, hierarchies will form, sometimes explicitly through the use of moderators who regulate the content of the forum, or organically, as certain members gain status through knowledge, participation, involvement etc. Within these hierarchies, roles will also be assumed. Social norms such as etiquette and politeness were noted as important to members, as was empathy and the ability to read social cues. Today the physical element of 'body-language' which is lost in online conversation is regularly compensated for through the use of *emoticons* – cartoon images portraying a facial expression such as a laugh, wink or a hug, to allow the online user to express additional meaning with their text (i.e. sarcasm, a joke or sympathy). The overriding picture that emerges from this early research is that female social behaviour online mirrors that of real life and complies with social norms. The interesting question that remains is whether people assume the *same* roles online as they do offline, or whether the physical and spatial distance encourages them to try out a different role for themselves within the confines of these very specific communities.

2.3. Fandoms as audiences

2.3.1. Fandoms as 'reading' audiences

The term **audience** can mean different things in different media. In general terms an audience is 'the receiver(s) of a message' (Chandler and Munday 2011). The term can be specific and refer to explicit groups of people watching a film or TV channel, or listening to a particular radio broadcast; a physical group of people gathered to watch a live performance, such as a play or concert; the readership of a book or magazine; or a demographic group at whom a product or message is targeted (i.e. the target audience for an advertising campaign). Equally the term can be used non-specifically to refer to an undefined group or mass or as a rhetorical 'dear reader' to whom a writer speaks.

In my research the study of the *Twilight* fandom as an audience is useful because, as a collective, they document their responses *in their own words* within the online communities they create and clearly demonstrate a) their *active* participation and b) both their *individual* and *shared* responses to a given media text.

When people gather together in an online space to talk..... they are a mass communication audience, but the communication they have with one another is both interpersonal, directed to individuals within the group, and mass, available for anyone to read. (Baym 2010, p.4)

As a 'knowing audience' fans respond to an adaptation as both a *reading* audience and a *cinema* audience, and my research will go on to provide evidence of the *Twilight* fandom's intensive readings of both the book *Breaking Dawn* and Part 2 of its film adaptation.

Historically reading was perceived as a passive activity, but **reader response theory** (Iser 1974 & 1978) acknowledged the active role the reader plays in the reading process. Iser identified 'two poles' in a literary text: 'the artistic refers to

the text created by the author, and the aesthetic to the realization accomplished by the reader.' Existing at some point between these poles is 'the literary work,' which can only exist through the reader's involvement or realization of the text. (Iser 1974, p.274)

As well as playing an active role in generating the meaning of a text, reading is also an active mental process for the reader:

The relative outer tranquillity of reading belies the magnitude of the internal transition. When we take up a book we are engaged in, we quite rapidly switch from responding to our immediate surroundings to processing a set of codes and responding to those instead. (Birkerts 1996, p.80)

As we, the reader, work our way through the illusions within the text and have our assumptions challenged, we become 'entangled' within the narrative as we 'organise and reorganise the various data offered us by the text. These are the given factors, the fixed points on which we base our "interpretation".' (Iser 1974)

And so it follows that if every reader must go through this same process of interpretation, then each of those readers will experience their own unique version of the text in question. And as Iser goes on to explain:

This entanglement of the reader is, of course, vital to any kind of text, but in the literary text we have the strange situation that the reader cannot know what his participation actually entails. We know that we share in certain experiences, but we do not know what happens to us in the course of this process. This is why, when we have been particularly impressed by a book, we feel the need to talk about it; we do not want to get away from it by talking about it - we simply want to understand more clearly what it is in which we have been entangled. (Iser 1974)

Whilst the act of reading itself is 'slow, private and intensely personal' (Demory 2010, p. 204), it correspondingly provokes a need to look outside of oneself to share interpretations with others and this is precisely how and why the *Twilight* fandom was initiated. The first *Twilight* fan sites were launched in 2006, soon after the release in October 2005 of *Twilight*, the first book in the saga. The initial

collective of fans were prompted to seek each other out and create their own space online to discuss the book, long before the arrival of the films and its celebrity stars.

The most enduring site in the *Twilight* online fan community, the *Twilight Lexicon*, has its roots firmly set in the *Twilight* canon and its founder admits, in the site FAQ section, that the website ‘came about from pure necessity. After reading *Twilight* in February of 2006, I found myself craving more and went online to start my search.’ (*The Lexicon Story: According To Alphie 2014*)¹

This desire to connect and share our reading experiences is also demonstrated by the prevalence and popularity of shared reading events today, such as televised book groups and community reading initiatives. This social aspect of communal reading was examined recently in the 2013 book *Reading Beyond the Book - The Social Practices of Contemporary Literature Culture*, where the aim of the study was to analyse the meaning of shared reading in a digital age and to ‘explore the pleasures to be experienced beyond, rather than between the covers.’ (Fuller and Rehberg Sedo 2013, p.3)

Whilst former reader response theory had examined the reader’s relationship with the *text*, this research addressed the relationship between the reader and other readers, and their findings, which included ‘feelings of intimacy, “belonging” and social connection’ resonate strongly with the reasons why a person might join a fan community, as I have already explored (Fuller and Rehberg Sedo 2013, p.11).

In addition to the personal and social benefits that might be afforded by sharing one’s reading experience, there is an added desire to extend or prolong the reading pleasure:

Attempts to continue the experience of a 'beloved' novel have taken many forms in the past: film adaptation, television adaptation, fan clubs, and fan and slash fiction. In today's participatory Web 2.0 culture (Jenkins at al., 2006: 3), readers are increasingly turning to online outlets, such as fan-built websites, blogs, picture galleries and games, in an effort to prolong the experience of a favourite novel. (Skains 2010, p.96)

Skains notes that this desire is strongest in the genres of fantasy and science fiction, but illustrates the strength of readers' desire 'for the extension of a favourite novel's story world regardless of genre' (p.100) by using the quantity of fan-authored stories inspired by books on FanFiction.net as her gauge. In the Books category of this site, *Twilight* fan-fiction is the second most popular source text, with 216,000 stories submitted, second only to the *Harry Potter* series which has inspired 682,000 stories (fanfiction.net 2014), thus providing a further indication of the active engagement, and state of immersion, of my research group.

2.3.2. Fandoms as 'cinema' audiences

As well as being a useful example of an intensive and active reading audience, fandoms also represent an active cinema audience, bringing with them a prior, often in-depth, knowledge of the adapted text in question. In his essay, *Changing paradigm in audience studies*, David Morley summaries:

The history of audience studies during the post war period can be seen as a series of oscillations between perspectives which have stressed the power of the text (or message) over its audiences and perspectives which have stressed the barriers "protecting" the audience from the potential effects of the message. (Morley 1989, p.16)

Early **audience studies**, which examines the relationship between media texts and the people that receive, consume and interpret them, considered the 'effects' new media forms may or may not have on people. Audiences were perceived as passive and impressionable receivers of messages, as demonstrated by the use of propaganda during the First World War. This created a fear that

modern media could be used and manipulated to control the masses, illustrated by the **hypodermic model of communication** metaphor through which information is transferred or 'injected' from the sender to the receiver. Later research (Lazarsfeld, Berelson et al. 1944, Merton 1946) invalidated this assumption, with Lazarsfeld finding that 'person to person influence' (p.14) played a large part in persuading undecided voters where to cast their vote, and 'serves as a bridge over which formal media communications extend their influence.' This indicated that media alone could not control the populous, but instead 'suggests ideas often flow *from* radio and print to the opinion leaders and *from* them to the less active sections of the population' (Lazarsfeld, Berelson et al. 1944). This interpretation, then dissemination, of information by and through 'opinion leaders' can be witnessed similarly within fan communities today, with key fan sites liaising directly with publishing houses or production companies, and feeding their interpretation of this information down to their members.

Similarly, Robert K Merton's 1946 study, *Mass Persuasion: The Social Psychology of a War Bond Drive*, revealed another example of **active audience theory** which demonstrated that 'different audiences use the same media to meet different needs according to their own wants' leading to the potential of 'a 'boomerang effect' in the communication of propaganda, where the 'intended' meaning of a media text can be turned around by members of the audience who read it in a way which positively reverses the intended meaning.' (Brooker, Jermyn 2003, p.9)

Having credited audiences with more autonomy and intelligence, and by viewing them as active participants and interpreters of the media they consume, research shifted to a **uses and gratification** understanding of media consumption in relation to people's motivations and needs, i.e. discovering *why* people use media rather than the effect it has on them, and it is exactly this understanding

and exploration of 'gratification' derived from the adaptation of a well-loved book by fans that underpins my research topic

To date more ethnographic studies have been conducted on television audiences than film audiences (Morley 1989, Hobson 1982, Bacon-Smith 1992, Baym 2000, Whiteman 2007), and these include specific reference to female science fiction fans and female audiences of soap operas. Female cinema audiences have been the subject of some research, but more often from a feminist viewpoint (Kuhn 1990) or from the cultural perspective of cinema and memory (Stacey 1994).

Useful to my research however is Graeme Turner's 1988 book *Film as Social Practice* which takes an aesthetic standpoint in an attempt to 'study film as entertainment, as narrative, as cultural event' (Turner 1988). The eventfulness of viewing a film adaptation *at* the cinema is a notable part of its enhancing effect over the book. Segmentation in the film market has led to films being made and marketed to distinct groups in society, and therefore 'attendance at a film can become a statement of membership of a sub-culture', which is of extreme importance to a longstanding fan (Turner 1988, p.101).

Turner summarises how the cinematic experience might affect an audiences reaction to a story: 'Sociologists such as Andrew Turner (1974) have argued that the intensity of the image/sound message, the comfort of the viewer, and the heightened sense of occasion, all make the viewer more susceptible to the power of the message' (Turner 1988, p.110). Add to this the anticipation of a year-long wait, the expectation and sense of intrigue that are engendered from weeks of teaser trailers, media interviews and photographs, and the ensuing interpretation and speculation amongst the fan forums, and the power is increased exponentially. Expectation plays a huge role in any long running franchise with a large fan base, and this is clearly demonstrated within the

Twilight fandom of my study by the anticipation and supposition that precedes each new film release.

Turner goes on to propose another potential 'pleasure' which is fundamental to my study and applies directly to my examination of a knowing audience's response to an adaptation:

One frequently forgotten aspect is the pleasure we find in the familiar.... There is the pleasure in confirming, through one's mastery of the film, one's membership in the culture;... there is a pleasure in the text which comes not only from recognizing the new and surprising but from recognizing intertextual links and generic conventions as well as their disruption. (Turner 1988, p.120)

And it is a combination of these precise 'pleasures' of mastery and membership, along with the adherence *and* disruption of conventions that I will present in my research findings, as an example of how a film adaptation can both complement and heighten the original pleasure derived from the book.

3. Methodology

As the aim of my hypothesis is to investigate ways in which adaptations can positively add to or enhance the reading experience of their novel, my first task was to identify a sample of people who had read the novel *Breaking Dawn* before seeing its film adaptation. To test my hypothesis fully, I felt it was important that my sample had a detailed knowledge of the book, in order to critically appraise the adaptation. The prevalence of fan communities online makes fan-to-fan discussion readily available and accessible to researchers, and as such provides a rich source of data which is unprompted by researcher questioning or bias. It also allowed me to capture and gauge fan reaction with real immediacy, with fans posting and discussing their reactions within hours of the film being released.

I had observed examples of other researchers using the *Twilight* fan sites for research purposes, who had posted links to participatory questionnaires on discussion threads, but I felt it would be reductive to limit my research to surveys or case studies given the large number of fans making use of the forums, and due to the broad nature of my hypothesis. When I embarked on this project the film release of *Breaking Dawn - Part 2* (2012) was still several months away and I did not know how the ending of the film had been altered from that in the book, nor could I predict how this alteration or the adaptation would be received by the fans, so I adopted a grounded theory methodology to allow themes emerging from the fans' discussions to shape my conclusion.

3.1. Ethical considerations

When using public fan forums as data there are ethical considerations to be made and to that end my initial cataloguing of fan sites only included information which was available to view publically, so any site which required membership to access its forums was discounted from my analysis.

Where I have used direct quotes, I have cited the full name of the individual, along with the time and date of their comment, as all comments were made in public areas of the internet. Whilst I recognise that some of the fans engaging with these online sites may be teenagers, the nature of the content I am analyzing is not personal, sensitive or likely to cause harm if published.

3.2. Cataloguing the *Twilight* fandom

The initial aim of my study was to catalogue the 377 English language fan sites listed on Stephenie Meyer's website (www.stepheniemeyer.com/ts_fansites). As the sites were listed on the authors official website this implied a certain level of authorial recognition and status and allows me to analyse them as paratexts. The purpose of this cataloguing exercise was to:

- a) Produce a comprehensive, up-to-date record of online fan engagement
- b) Identify a sub-set of key fan sites which contain regular, current subject matter and/or high levels of fan engagement/discussion.

The information I recorded on each site was as follows:

Name	Date started	Number of posts
URL	Date of last post	Number of registered members
Web host	Site classification (blog, fan-fiction, role-play, forum etc)	Member/Public access

As well as helping me identify my sub-set of sites for closer analysis, these nine simple criteria gave me a useful overview of the *Twilight* fandom and highlighted a number of interesting trends – the typical age and duration of the fan sites, the size and engagement of their audiences, the typical longevity of different site classifications and the very large number of sites that are now no longer maintained by their owners.

3.2.1. Problems

The first problem I encountered related to **obsolete web hosting platforms** used by fans. The earliest *Twilight* fan sites I found were launched in 2006 and some of the free web hosting and blogging platforms available at that time are not currently supported. To that end, the 25 sites created on the piczo.com blogging platform, which was shut down in November 2012, are difficult to classify as many have disappeared entirely, and those that do still remain appear as a single homepage with little or no content. There were also a noticeable number of myspace pages, probboard forums and ning communities which had ceased to exist.

Another problem I encountered was in the arbitrary nature of **Site Classification**. The fan sites differed enormously in their design and it was difficult to differentiate between a fan 'site' and a fan 'blog'. Many of the early sites were created on free templates, looked similar and contained very similar content (e.g. an overview of plots, character profiles, character photos, about the author etc) and remained static in that content. Some authors had made an attempt at posting additional news stories, in the style of a blog, but all too often these were not updated regularly and therefore lacked the 'up-to-date-ness' of a typical blog.

Gathering **accurate date information** was another problem encountered. Of the 377 sites examined, 163 (43%) could not be classified by Start Date as I could find no date information on the site. In general, sites which featured a forum were easiest to date, either from the Forum Statistics automatically generated by some of the hosting software, or from the initial Welcome thread posted at the start of the forum. Depending on the sophistication of the hosting software, sometimes there would be other automatically generated site information such as Date started, Number of registered members, Number of posts, Date of last post etc, which proved very useful for some of the longstanding forums with high levels of traffic. In other cases, with smaller, less populated forums, I manually counted the number of threads and members. For blogs and sites with regular news articles I took the start date to be the date of the first post. For sites without forums or news content I took the start date to be the copyright year date posted at the footer of the web page (e.g. ©2008)

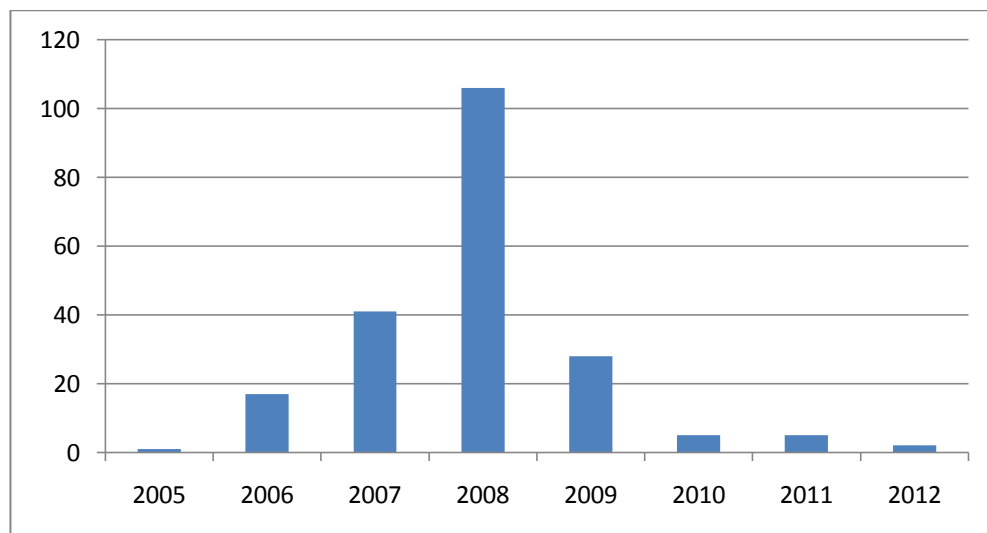
When trying to ascertain the Date of Last Post on fan forums I also encountered the problematic prevalence of **spamming**. Fan forums provide a niche market for advertisers of products relating to the *Twilight* series, so I found, on many occasions, the same companies posting product advertisements in the discussions threads. In many cases the Date of Last Post was November 2012 (when a company called EntertainmentJewelry.com spammed at least 18 sites with posts advertising a replica Bella Swann engagement ring), when in reality the forum had remained dormant for many months or even years. I therefore adjusted my findings and when selecting my final sub-set of fan sites, discounted any sites with a 'false' last post date of November 2012.

3.2.2. Findings

Of the 377 sites examined, 96 (25%) no longer exist. This is due either to the domain name expiring, the hosting platform ceasing to operate (piczo.com) or a site being closed or abandoned by the owner.

10% of the fan sites were launched in 2006 (following the publication of the first book in the saga, *Twilight*, in 2005). However the greatest surge in the number of sites launched was in 2008 (106 sites = 28%), the year the first film adaptation was released.

Figure 3:1. Fan sites shown by year of launch

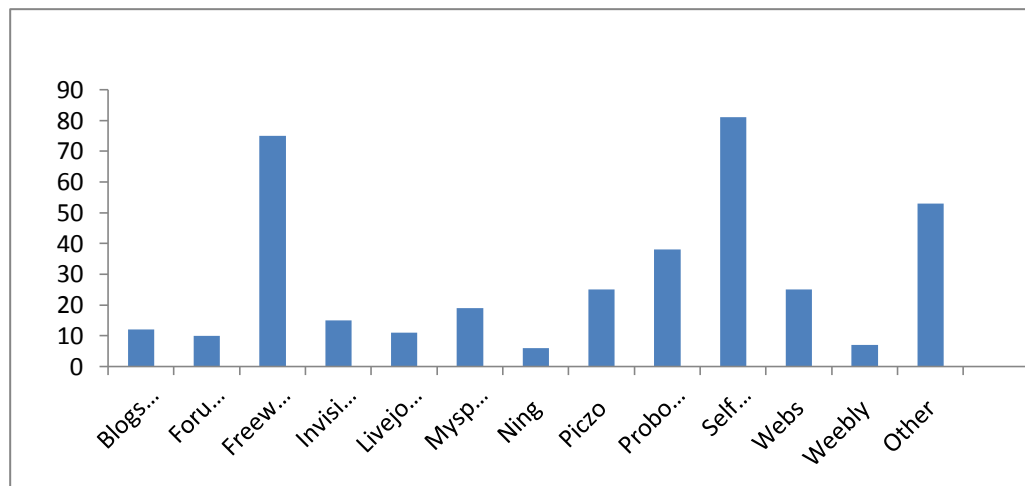


Of the 148 sites launched during 2007/08, 21 (14%) had been abandoned by the end of 2008 and only 13 sites launched during 2007/08 are still current and updated regularly.

Whilst the majority of fan sites have been created using free web hosting platforms, 81 of the 377 sites examined (21%) are self-hosted with a unique domain name. Of my final sample of 23 key sites 16 (69.5%) are self-hosted with their own domain name. This would indicate that site owners who went to the

trouble of purchasing a unique domain name had a more long-term vision for their websites, making self-hosted sites more likely to have longevity.

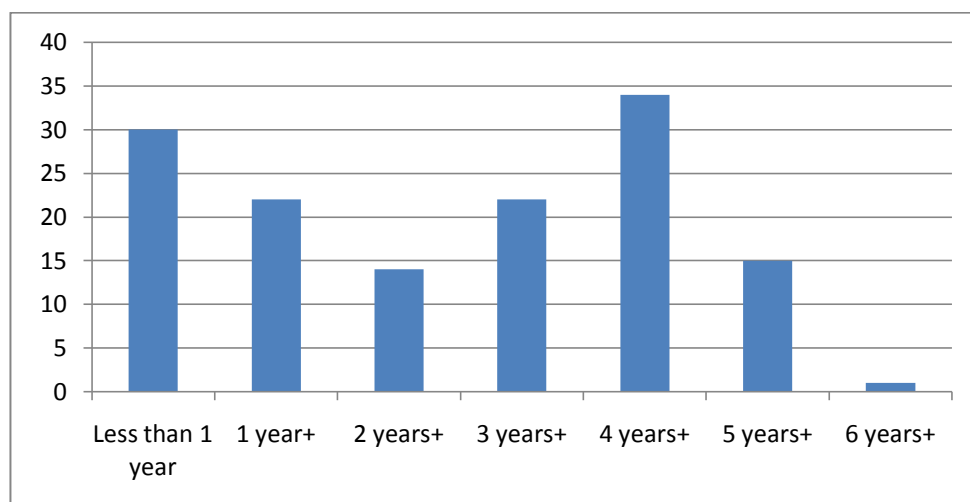
Figure 3:2. Range of web hosting platforms



172 (45%) of the sites could not be classified by Start Date, either due to the fact that they no longer exist, the site was member only access or because there was no archive or date information on the posts or at the footer of the website.

I was able to estimate a Start and End date for 138 of the 377 sites which provided the following life span findings:

Figure 3:3. Life span of fan sites where start/end dates available



One interesting finding was that, of all the types of fan site examined, those with the greatest longevity are Role Playing sites. Twenty RP sites were identified, 13 of which were created in 2007-08. Of these 8 are still in operation and have regular fan engagement.

Of the 377 sites examined 15 contained no *Twilight*-related content whatsoever. There is no way of telling if these domains were ever genuine fan sites whose domain registrations lapsed and were then bought by online advertisers, or whether they have been listed erroneously as a fan site on Stephenie Meyer's site, purely on the basis of their URL name. If the latter is the case though, it would call into question the integrity of the fan site list on the author's website.

For reasons of privacy and ethics I had discounted any Member Only fan forums from my content analysis. Interestingly of the 83 forums identified (excluding Role Play Forums) only 17 (20%) were Member Only access meaning that the majority of fan forums could be included in my study.

3.2.3. Sub-set of key fan sites

My initial cataloging exercise yielded 42 fan sites for further investigation. To narrow this number down to a manageable number of sites for more detailed content analysis I employed the following deselection criteria:

1. Removed all sites with 'member only' forums (for ethical reasons)
2. Removed all fan fiction sites and role play sites (whilst these sites may have provided interesting reaction to the adaptation in a more creative way, I felt that the sheer volume of fan fiction and role play data would be too great to add to an already large online data set from the forums)
3. Removed any site which did not have new content posted during 2013 (unless it contained a specific *Breaking Dawn - Part 2* [2012] film review written in November or December 2012)

4. Removed any sites with known spam content giving a false 'current' forum posting reading

This filtering exercise yielded 22 fan sites for closer content analysis, 3 of which feature discussion forums with dedicated *Breaking Dawn - Part 2* (2012) discussion threads.

3.3. Content Analysis

Having identified a sample set of fan sites, my next objective was to conduct a detailed textual-analysis of written exchanges found therein. Of the 22 fan sites identified during my cataloguing exercise which met specific criteria (high levels of fan interaction, up to date content and/or a specific film review) on closer examination I could only include content from 10 of those 22 sites. This was due to a number of factors:

- 1 forum identified had subsequently gone out of operation and the archives were no longer available
- 1 site identified no longer existed
- 2 sites had not been updated since the cataloguing exercise
- 2 sites had no specific reaction to *Breaking Dawn Part 2*
- 1 site had a review which was purely factual but had no reaction
- 1 site had a review which was based on the 4D viewing of the film as opposed to reaction
- 1 site, whilst having up to date content, concentrated on celebrity news rather than analysis or reaction to the film
- 3 sites had their reaction posts in the form of podcasts or videos

My textual analysis has therefore been carried out on the following selection of content:

- a. Fan comments left on the official *Twilight* Facebook page
- b. 3 fan sites containing BD2 review posts
- c. 7 sites with fan forums and specific BD2 discussion threads

I conducted my analysis as an observer or ‘lurker’ as opposed to a participating member of the forums for several reasons. Ethically I did not feel there was a need to introduce myself as a researcher because my study was not concerned with the fans personally, but about their *response* to the adaptation. As Chin and Gray justify similarly in their study of Pre-viewers and Pre-Texts of *The Lord of the Rings* films, they too were ‘looking primarily at the text, and Tolkien fans’ talk surrounding the text itself, not at how they use the Internet as a social apparatus’ (Chin and Gray 2001, p.3). Secondly I wanted to avoid steering or hindering the free flow of the fans discussion. Fans and/or moderators posted their own discussion topics on forums threads and my content analysis was driven by these conversations rather than ones of my making.

I referred to the methodology of 2007 PhD thesis ‘The Establishment, Maintenance and Destabilisation of Fandom: A Study of Two Online Communities and an Exploration of Issues Pertaining To Internet Research’ by Natasha Whiteman, which focused on a study of two online communities – fans of Angel (TV show) and Silent Hill (videogame) – which had strong synergies with my data set. Of particular interest was Whiteman’s experience of online communities being ‘unstable environments’, with both the site forums she studied changing from public to member-only access sites during her research and one of the sites being hacked causing the entire posting history of the forum to be lost (Whiteman 2010, p.15).

In light of Whiteman’s experience, I accessed the *Twilight* forums online and copied the relevant text into Word documents which was then archived offline. This proved to be a valuable exercise, as in November 2013 the *TwilightMoms*

website, one of the two largest *Twilight* fan sites, closed down with no prior announcement and the forum disappeared completely. Fortunately I had already captured the text from forum discussions relating to the release of *Breaking Dawn – Part 2* (2012), however I had not captured the time and date information relating to the individual postings, so any citations used from *TwilightMoms.com* will only mention the user's forum name as reference. Like Whiteman I had learnt, first hand, the 'changing nature of technologically-mediated environments and the need to develop flexible strategies for archiving data in online qualitative research.' (Whiteman 2010, p.17)

As someone who had read all the *Twilight* saga books and enjoyed and anticipated the films, I would class myself as a *Twilight* fan, but not an *engaged* fan who participates on fan sites. To that end, it might be said that I am naturally biased towards a positive outcome to my hypothesis. Again though, I would reiterate that at the time of starting my research I had no way of knowing how the adaptation would be received, and therefore I entered into the process with an open mind and a sense of expectancy and curiosity myself. Nonetheless my personal level of connection *did* mean I had a good understanding of forum terminology and specific *Twilight* references, which allowed me to immerse myself in the field in an informed way.

Rhiannon Bury makes an interesting distinction between 'speech' and 'text' in her study of online communities, quoting Sherry Turkle who characterizes these online conversations as 'a kind of hybrid: Speech....frozen into artefact' (Turkle 1995, p.183). The online discussions I examined appear to attempt to replicate face-to-face conversation through the widespread use of emoticons to mimic facial expressions, as well as the etiquette of using quoted comments in replies, allowing people to address and respond to specific posters within a long conversational thread. To that end, I refer to the forum data most often as 'discussions'. These discussions take place within forum 'threads' — namely a

collection of posts categorized by a title denoting the subject matter to be discussed therein — and there can be multiple discussions within a single thread. When specifying ‘posts’ I refer to an individual comment made by a user within a specific thread.

The content I harvested from the forums was created and intended as conversational ‘speech’ but is studied and analysed here as ‘text’, and by making use of forums it allows the researcher to analyse this ‘frozen speech’ without the filter of transcription. With convenience though come challenges, as Bury explains:

Speech in any ethnographic project eventually becomes text to be analysed, through the process of recording and transcription. Virtual ethnography eliminates this time consuming and potentially expensive intermediary step. Having “instant data” is not just about convenience but affects the analysis and findings. On the one hand, I was able to collect very large, rich data sets. On the other, it was impossible to go through the sets in their entirety with a fine-toothed comb. (Bury 2005, p.27)

I too encountered a very similar problem as my sample set of forums contained far too much discussion for me to analyse in detail. To filter the data I had to be specific and concentrate solely on discussions relating to my research question. To that end, I sought out posts containing film reviews of *Breaking Dawn – Part 2* (2012) and discussion threads which appeared pertinent to post film release conversation, by the nature of their subject title. I copied each complete discussion into a Word document and ‘cleaned’ the data by removing avatar images, member bio details and any footer banner images which users display as their online signature.

I then read through the relevant threads and noted any recurrent themes or interesting aspects of fan talk, specifically regarding how the fans engaged and responded to the text. Taking these emerging themes I then examined the data more closely, looking for detailed and explanatory examples, and bringing together similar reaction from different fan sites.

Unavoidably there are many aspects which I have not touched upon, such as social interaction on the forums, use of language, gendered readings of the text, feminist interpretations etc. This was not a sociological study of the *Twilight* fandom but rather a study of this fandom's *response* to adaptation, and I did not encounter any notable feminist interpretations of the adapted text on the forums I studied. Whilst I could have obtained fans' reactions in other ways, such as interviewing people coming out of cinemas after watching the film or using social media to reach out to fans, this would not have necessarily provided me with such a qualified and critically appraising 'knowing audience'. I had also considered the use of off-line interviews, specifically with the owners of the key fan sites, but given the large amount of online data that presented itself, I felt this would be superfluous. Using fan forums was a decisive way to get multiple, in depth viewpoints from audience members who had invested time and passion in the saga and were likely to give an informed and judged response to the *adaptation*, whilst also allowing me to address the complaint that 'the authentic voices of fans themselves are rarely heard' (Harris 1998, p.5).

4. Findings

4.1 Overview

As I have already stated, when I began this research project and chose my hypothesis, the film release of *Breaking Dawn - Part 2* (2012) was still several months away and I had no idea how the ending of the film had been altered from that in the book, nor could I predict how this alteration or the adaptation would be received by the fans.

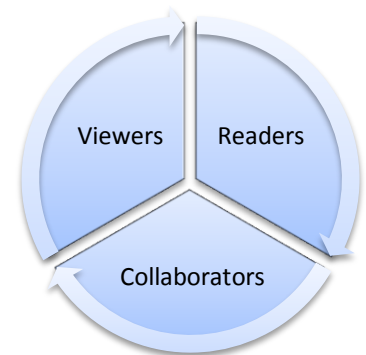


Figure 4:1. The 3 ways in which the Twilight fandom experience the adaptation of *Breaking Dawn - Part 2*

Opportunely, however, the data gathered from my sample set of fan sites was rich, plentiful and surprising, and the response to the adapted ending was remarkably positive. The fans continually proved themselves an incredibly knowledgeable audience, through their close familiarity with Meyer's canon and their intensive readings of both the books and the films, and the post-film discussions I examined illuminated a number of interesting notions which challenge some long held beliefs about the hierarchical superiority of the book and its author.

I discovered that, as a knowing audience, the fans had experienced the adaptation in three keys ways – as readers, collaborators and viewers - and it is under these thematic headings that I will present the details of my findings, and offer my theory as to why the risks taken with this adaptation substantiate my hypothesis that adaptation *can* elevate and enhance the reading experience.

4.1.1. *The adapted ending in context*

For the following data findings to make sense, I feel it is important to clarify at this stage, *how* exactly the climax of the film adaptation differed from that of the book. At the end of the novel *Breaking Dawn*, the Cullens and their witnesses assemble and face the Volturi, with a bloody battle expected. However, no fight takes place as Aro, the head of the Volturi, has a vision of the future and sees many casualties and his own death if the fight ensues. After such a long and detailed build-up, many fans at the time lamented how the lack of action had left them dissatisfied and frustrated.

In the film adaptation however, this ‘imagined’ battle takes place on screen, seamlessly following on from the expected storyline, so that the audience is led to believe the battle is part of the narrative action. In this fight scene several key members of the Cullen family are unexpectedly killed, along with many members of the Volturi. It is only at this point, when the audience believes that many well-loved characters are dead, that it is revealed the battle was, still in fact, a vision of the future, foreseen by Alice Cullen and read, telepathically, by Volturi-leader Aro.

Cleverly, this deviation does nothing to alter the ultimate happy ending of the film, but instead makes visual a scene which was merely eluded to in the novel. Most interestingly though, for my research question, is how the unexpected deviation from fidelity surprised, challenged and ultimately delighted the fans.

4.2. The reading audience

The earliest *Twilight* fan sites date back to 2006, soon after the release of *Twilight*, the first book in the saga, in October 2005. The initial collective of

online fans were prompted to seek each other out and create their own space on the internet to discuss the book, not the film or its celebrity stars. On the *Twilight Lexicon* site, there is a very clear demarcation in the forums between book and film discussion, with the forums divided into sections – *In The Meadow* relating to discussion about the books and *Hollywood Hideout* for discussion about the films.

Figure 4:2. Screenshot from *Twilight Lexicon* forums, showing book discussion divided by book title

IN THE MEADOW	TOPICS	POSTS	LAST POST
The Last Piece of the Puzzle Twilight Saga: The Official Illustrated Guide Discussion Forum Moderators: December, Bronze Haired Girl, una	33	275	by TwilightFan87 Sun Jan 13, 2013 1:22 pm
Sparkling in the Sun Character Discussion Forum Moderators: December, Bronze Haired Girl, una	93	21281	by Esme echo Sat Oct 19, 2013 1:47 am
Quench Your Thirst General Discussion on the Twilight Universe Moderators: December, bac, Bronze Haired Girl, cullengirl	102	17874	by Tornado Fri Sep 27, 2013 4:36 pm
A Run Through the Woods A Chapter By Chapter Discussion of Twilight Moderators: December, Bronze Haired Girl	26	2756	by TwilightFan87 Sun Jun 30, 2013 2:16 am
From Forks to Italy and Back A Chapter by Chapter Discussion of New Moon Moderators: December, Bronze Haired Girl	27	1720	by Edwards Ragazza Sun Feb 03, 2013 10:03 pm
Fire and Ice Chapter by Chapter Eclipse Discussion Moderators: December, Bronze Haired Girl	29	1674	by TwilightFan87 Sun Dec 02, 2012 11:24 pm
A Perfect Piece of Forever Our chapter by chapter discussion of Breaking Dawn. Moderators: Bronze Haired Girl, una	42	1294	by mainhoonemily Thu Jan 10, 2013 11:44 am

Within these, and the other sections, there are additional subsections, narrowing the discussion further by book and then again by chapter.

Figure 4:3. Screenshot of *Twilight Lexicon* forum, showing the Breaking Dawn book discussion section further divided by chapter

TOPICS	REPLIES	VIEWS	LAST POST
Chapter 8: Waiting for the Damn Fight to Start Already by Alphie » Wed Mar 04, 2009 12:55 pm	1 2 3 4 37	4842	by mainhoonemily Thu Jan 10, 2013 11:44 am
Chapter 7: Unexpected by Alphie » Sun Feb 15, 2009 2:04 pm	1 ... 5 6 7 68	5791	by mainhoonemily Thu Jan 10, 2013 11:40 am
Chapter 6: Distractions by Alphie » Sun Feb 15, 2009 2:02 pm	1 2 3 4 5 46	4529	by mainhoonemily Wed Jan 09, 2013 6:22 pm
Chapter 5: Isle Esme by Alphie » Sun Jan 25, 2009 1:30 am	1 ... 9 10 11 103	10281	by mainhoonemily Wed Jan 09, 2013 6:18 pm
Chapter 4: Gesture by Alphie » Fri Jan 16, 2009 1:17 pm	1 ... 5 6 7 63	4982	by mainhoonemily Wed Jan 09, 2013 6:14 pm
Chapter 3: The Big Day by Alphie » Sat Jan 10, 2009 2:01 am	1 ... 5 6 7 66	6180	by mainhoonemily Wed Jan 09, 2013 6:10 pm
Chapter 2: Long Night by Alphie » Fri Dec 19, 2008 12:50 pm	1 ... 8 9 10 99	7599	by mainhoonemily Wed Jan 09, 2013 6:05 pm
Chapter 1: Engaged by Alphie » Fri Dec 05, 2008 1:21 pm	1 ... 14 15 16 156	10206	by mainhoonemily Wed Jan 09, 2013 5:53 pm
Chapter 21: First Hunt by Alphie » Sat Jun 27, 2009 10:37 am	1 2 3 22	3351	by Tornado Thu Aug 09, 2012 4:41 am
Chapter 12: Some people... the concept of Unwelcome by Alphie » Mon Apr 13, 2009 4:44 pm	1 2 3 21	2876	by adorey Sun Feb 12, 2012 7:07 pm

This is a very clear and demonstrable example of how intensive and specific the reading and subsequent discussion amongst fans is. By analyzing and discussing each book, chapter by chapter, the fans can share ideas, interpretations and reactions, thus generating a collective understanding and a communal 'realization of the text' (Iser 1974, p.274)

In this section I will outline three key ways in which the fans demonstrate their intensive reading of the text, by evaluating:

- i) How fans respond to a deviation from *Twilight* canon
- ii) How fans appraise changes in the screenplay (including point-of-view and dialogue)
- iii) How fans read meaning into textual imagery

4.2.1. *Reconciling a deviation from 'canon'*

One of the most powerful ways the fans demonstrate evidence of their intensive reading of the books is through their in-depth knowledge of Meyer's *canon*. This knowledge, displayed and tested within the fan community, elevates some fans to the status of *aficionado*.

In literature *canon* can refer to either 'a list of literary works which are considered to be permanently established as being of the highest quality' or 'the works of a particular author or artist that are recognized as genuine' (Waite 2012, p.98). When examining an adaptation however, it is arguably more useful to refer to the fan fiction definition of canon which relates to 'the overall set of storylines, premises, settings, and characters offered by the source media text' (Parrish 2007, p.28) – certain unwavering 'truths' that are accepted as the basis for a particular story. In an adaptation, as in fan fiction, these canonical 'truths' can be replicated faithfully or they can be used as a springboard for deviation and interpretation.

Several theorists have examined the differing roles of the fan and the *aficionado*. In his essay 'The Cultural Economy of Fandom' (1992) John Fiske expands upon Bourdieu's metaphor of cultural capital, whereby participants gain status and advancement through their investment in cultural pursuits rather than by economic means. Fiske addresses the limitations in Bourdieu's study, which he sees as its preoccupation with economics and class as the only form of social distinction, and also Bourdieu's failure to acknowledge anything other than bourgeois culture, by extending the metaphor to include popular culture and its fans. Fiske argues that fandom generates its own form of cultural capital, for groups of people who operate outside the realms of accepted 'high' culture, and suggests that 'Fandom offers ways of filling cultural lack and provides the social prestige and self-esteem that go with cultural capital.' (Fiske 1992, p.33)

His theory is a useful explanation as to why many popular fandoms, including the *Twilight* fan community, are chiefly female. The demographics of the *Twilight* fandom, assumed to be primarily teenage girls and stay-at-home mums, complies with his theory of a community with perceived low cultural capital, who would reap benefits from building their own social and cultural capital online within a like-minded community. 'Acquiring it will not advance ones career, nor will it provide upward class mobility..... Its dividends lie in the pleasures and esteem of one's peers in a community of taste rather than those of one's social betters.' (Fiske 1992, p.34)

Nowhere is this sense of pleasure and esteem more evident than amongst the forums of the *Twilight Lexicon*. The *Lexicon* is arguably the most authoritative and comprehensive of all the *Twilight* fan sites. *Lexicon* founder Lori Joffs (aka Alphie) struck up a friendship with author Stephenie Meyer after Meyer posted a review of Joff's fanfic version of *Twilight*, *The Lion and The Lamb*, on the site FanFiction.net. Joffs subsequently launched *Twilight Lexicon* as an information

resource for fans, with Meyer providing her with additional material and answering questions about the *Twilight* universe she had created. Joffs later went on to help Meyer edit the third book in the saga, *Eclipse*. Members of the *Twilight Lexicon* pride themselves on being the elite in terms of *Twilight* knowledge. On discussing a deviation from Meyer's canon in the film *Breaking Dawn - Part 2* (2012), one *Lexicon* fan comments: 'One of the only places on earth where they will be called on it is here on the Lex, and they knew that.' (Openhome, Sun Nov 18, 2012 12:11 am)

An excellent example of how fans demonstrate their aficionado status through their intimate knowledge of canon takes place in a discussion thread on the *Twilight Lexicon* forum entitled The New Ending **SPOILERS SPOILERS SPOILERS** where the poster asks 'Was the new ending necessary? Did it make it better? What does having a dual ending do to the saga?'

The thread is dominated by discussing the mechanism through which the climactic ending is achieved – Alice's vision of the battle. As one fan points out in only the second post in the thread:

It's bothering me....In New Moon; Alice gets a vision about Bella. She can't see what happens with Bella after jumping that cliff. Alice tells Jacob she can't see past him.... And then you get to BD2. With a complete vision that seems to be the ending. Alice can't see the wolves! Yet, she sees a complete fight with wolves and all! How can she see that? Am I missing something here?... She shouldn't be able to see any battle or/and outcome at all. As soon as the wolves come in to the picture, Alice' sight should be blind right? (Brienna, Wed Nov 14, 2012 5:56 am)²

In the *Twilight* saga books Alice Cullen is unable to see the wolves or Renesmee in her visions of the future, yet both appear in her vision at the end of *Breaking Dawn - Part 2* (2012). Forum members proceed to utilise their knowledge of the books to offer possible explanations for this blatant deviation from *Twilight* canon. One fan refers back to the second book in the saga, *New Moon*, for her rationalisation:

Remember in New Moon.... Alice says that it's possible to lie with your thoughts...what if she used her thoughts to lie to Aro about the outcome...making him see an outcome that was completely made up? (Songbird, Thu Nov 15, 2012 11:53 am)²

However this suggestion is quickly countered by another fan's cross-referencing with earlier books:

But shouldn't Aro then just see that you're lying? In the book, don't remember the exact lines or quote; but when Edward goes to Aro to give him his hand, Aro can see everything. He knows every plan or strategy the Cullens or friends have thought out. Since Edward reads everyone's minds around him, with that touch, Aro can also know what every single one of them has thought for the previous time. Even without the book explaining; Edward said himself in NM that Aro can read every thought you've ever had by *holding your hand*. (Brienna, Thu Nov 15, 2012 12:41 pm)²

Further suggestions are put forward by other forum members – just because Aro *can* read every thought Alice has ever had, doesn't mean he *does* – maybe he filters thoughts and could therefore miss her lie? Maybe Alice is using her imagination to 'fill in' the gaps left by the wolves she cannot see? Or maybe, if Alice is showing Aro *his* future, and the wolves do not directly affect it, then the wolves merely represent part of the backdrop, like the scenery, and that is why we can see them? Evidently the fans are troubled by this deviation from canon, examining the plausibility of each suggestion is in turn, using a mixture of textual knowledge and supposition, in an attempt to reconcile the film with their understanding of the books. But while some suggestions are applauded and others dismissed, there is a noticeable split between those who feel able to accept the deviation for adaptation purposes and those who cannot:

You know for the first time I can live with the alteration from the canon... I understand that they had to make the movie more exciting than in the book and I understand that they have to make the movie epic to sell it... I am just so bloody happy that they choose to give up the science of Alice's visions instead of really killing a Cullen... It could have been so, so, so much worse... (marielle, Nov 19, 2012 1:34 pm)²

However, for those fans who view the deviation from canon as a major difficulty, there is a distinct shift in their position from aficionado to critic:

Right now I don't think I'm ever going to find an explanation for it all that'll satisfy me. Wolves involved = Alice shouldn't see the vision.....Unless SM comes up with a darn good explanation, it'll keep bugging me I think. (Brienna, Sun Nov 18, 2012 3:50 pm) ²

The bottom line, in my opinion, is that they just threw that canon out like yesterday's garbage. The utility of blocks in Alice's visions had outrun its usefulness, at least as far as the movie. (corona, Nov 19, 2012 1:07 pm) ²

Such is their disapproval that criticism begins to be directed towards the author for imposing such a restrictive 'rule' early on in her writing:

The real problem here, seems to me, is Stephenie's decision all those years ago to allow wolves to wipe Alice's visions of EVERYONE out. I guess she needed it to get the plot of NM rolling (if Alice sees Bella surface after cliff diving, the rest of NM is toast), but it's basically a headache going forwards.... (December, Sun Nov 18, 2012 12:25 pm) ²

There is an implication here that, as the author, she should have thought things through more carefully and considered the future implications of such a key plot device. In addition a further two forum members note that these 'rules' appear to have been relaxed by the author in her later books:

Even in the books these stringent requirements seem to lessen as time goes on. (Tornado, Sun Nov 18, 2012 5:08 pm) ²

Stephenie does appear to have tried, even in the books, to push a little on those limitations that the half-breeds introduce. (corona, Mon Nov 19, 2012 1:07 pm) ²

These three critical examples illustrate a noticeable shift in the power relationship between the author and her fans, with the *Lexicon* members boasting such expertise that they feel qualified and justified to critique Meyer's authorial decisions, as well as her decisions as producer of the film adaptation.

Lexicon member 'corona' goes on to encapsulate beautifully the dichotomy the fans feel about the change in Meyer's canon:

Stephenie might try to retrofit an explanation. It would be a delicious lie, and I'd love her for it. She's the author, so her explanation would be the

accepted canon, but she would be a beautiful liar. Except she can't be, she's the author. I love it. (corona, Mon Nov 19, 2012 1:07 pm) 2

This in itself poses the question, is it possible for an author to renounce her own canon? Or is the author's very involvement in the adaptation process simply an opportunity to expand upon or refine her original mythology? Some fans clearly see Meyer's involvement and influence on the film adaptation as a means by which she can provide additional layers and added nuances to her characters:

Did anyone pick up on the nuance of Leah saving Esme?... Don't tell me for one second that that just happened and Stephenie wasn't sending a message. She had her fingers in everything going on in that battle, and I love her for it.

This is the great thing about that last battle. In the book, SM finally elevated her characters above the story itself. She loved her characters more than the story and couldn't let any of them die. Now, in the movie, she can continue to tell the story and reveal even more about her characters while still keeping them ultimately safe.

(corona, Mon Nov 19, 2012 1:07 pm) 2

Because Meyer was so involved in the process of adapting *Breaking Dawn - Part 2* (2012) from book to film, working in collaboration with the screenwriter and acting as producer, there is a feeling that her involvement gives credibility to the adaptation and to the changes made. Fans trust in the outcome because of her input and this may be a unique reason why, for many fans, this adaptation ended up being *better* than the book – because they perceive it as the author's second chance to get it right.

I had a theory a while ago that, since SM was producer on this, BD the movie was going to end up being her final true canon, the re-edited version. That was an amazing scene between Edward and Carlisle. That is the true canon. This is the story that needed to be told. I think we need a revised edition of the book. (corona, Mon Nov 26, 2012 1:17 pm) 2

As confirmation of the reciprocal relationship between the author and her fans, Meyer *does* in fact respond to her fans questions and concerns over the

deviations from canon, in a public statement posted on her website on 26th November 2012 in which she offers her explanation of the changed film ending:

Melissa Rosenberg and I have both mentioned the fateful dinner we had (back during the filming of Eclipse) where we hashed out a way to make the end of Breaking Dawn more cinematic. This was the idea we latched on to—how do we make this vision of Aro's into something the viewer can experience? The answer was pretty simple once we looked at it that way—we already had a character who could show us visions. So the only real change to the book ending of Breaking Dawn is that Alice enters the scene earlier, and comes in contact with Aro.

(Are there a few little trespasses against the mythology in this vision? Yes, as some of you have pointed out. The consensus was that a minor deviation from what had been established was forgivable in the name of entertainment. I had a few very elaborate solutions, but they were too confusing and not nearly as cinematic as the final product. And obviously, the result was very entertaining.)³

There is a sense of pride amongst the *Lexicon* fan community that this dichotomy concerning the wolves and Alice's ability to envision the future would *only* present a problem here on *their* forum:

It worked in the movie. For most everyone, their presence simply didn't make a difference. Only here to the faithful few, and perhaps in SM's notes, did the wolves make any difference at all. (Openhome, Sun Nov 18, 2012 12:11 am)²

And with this pride comes prestige, a form of Fiske's cultural capital, from perceiving themselves at the top of the *Twilight* fandom hierarchy

Contrastingly though there is some evidence that being an aficionado with intimate knowledge of the book is *not* always beneficial for a filmgoer. One fan describes how she was fooled into believing the battle scene was real by her own rigid acceptance of canon, as she told herself 'it can't be a vision because the wolves are there fighting.' (Jazz Girl, Sat Nov 17, 2012 12:28 am)²

The forum members continue to demonstrate their expert credentials by highlighting other 'holes' in Meyer's canon regarding characterisation. Questions

are raised concerning the credibility of Jasper Cullen being amongst the battle's fatalities when he is repeatedly depicted as the clan's most experienced fighter, and also whether or not it is out of character for Carlisle, the father figure of the Cullen clan, to make the first charge in the battle scene: 'Peace-Love-and-Understanding Carlisle is charging first?' questions Suzan (Thu Nov 15, 2012, 9:51 am) ². Forum opinion is split, with some members explaining his actions from a moral standpoint as the protective head of his clan, whilst others interpret his unexpected behaviour as a 'clue' that all is not as it seems:

After watching it a second time I realized that this should have been my hint that this wasn't real... The book version of Carlisle wouldn't have been the first to attack and risk his family and friends in an all out fight. It would have been Edward or Esme who would have attacked first or maybe even Peter and Charlotte. (marielle, Thu Nov 15, 2012 1:00 pm) ²

This deciphering of clues to prove your credentials as a fan is a frequent theme within the discussion thread, with some forum members exhibiting a sense of failure or embarrassment at being caught out or 'duped' by the twist ending: 'I have to admit I completely fell for it' admits Suzan (Thu Nov 15, 2012 9:51 am) ², almost apologetically.

And another fan identifies a different 'clue' that should have suggested the ending was a vision:

****Random thought just popped in my head**** I totally missed the main clue, AGAIN. I should have known any battle in BD2 was going to be a vision. The Merchant of Venice was in the trailer and in the film, and I missed it AGAIN. (Violet Sunlight, Sun Nov 18, 2012 5:35 am) ²

Here, as on other forums, there is a clear inference from some that if you were a 'true fan' you would have enough background knowledge to spot the clues and thereby realise the battle scene is just a vision. Yet it is interesting to note the willingness of these fans to publicly admit their misreading or mistake. In a community so confident of its expertise, such self-deprecating admissions only

succeed in crediting the film's sophistication and the skilled way in which the adaptation blended known narrative with unexpected additions.

However it is the fans' absolute (some might say arrogant) certainty of their own expertise which goes some way to providing one acceptable explanation for the Wolf/Vision dichotomy – that the filmmakers *had* to include the wolves, thereby breaking with canon, simply so that ardent fans *wouldn't* piece together the clues:

It's undeniable that they HAD to put the wolves in. Not only would ardent fans instantly guess what was going on, but they'd lose all the wolfy bits in the battle. (December, Nov 18, 2012 12:25 am) ²

It worked better than having the wolves disappear and everyone KNOW it's a vision. It would have been a dead giveaway. (Openhome, Nov 18, 2012 12:11 am) ²

There is little doubt though, amongst the *Twilight Lexicon* membership, that the decision to kill off two major protagonists, albeit in or out of character, was a bold and shocking move on the part of the author, screenwriter and director, and I will be examining the reaction of cinema audiences to this break in both adaptation and genre convention in a later chapter.

4.2.2. Appraising changes in the screenplay

From the forum discussions it is apparent the fans have a fair understanding of the adaptation process and the constraints placed upon the screenwriter in condensing a 700 page novel into two two-hour films, and the challenges of making visual a mostly single point of view, internal narrative. Their intensive reading and fine eye for detail makes the fans expertly placed to appraise and critique the changes that have been made, both positively and negatively.

One example of such is an exchange between two fans with an exact recollection of the dialogue in the novel who agree that the changes made in the screenplay were an improvement on book:

I just went and saw the movie again with my sister-in-law, and I can say that my favorite part of that new ending was the fact that Edward DIDN'T say "Goodbye, Jacob, my brother...my son." I can't tell you how much I hate that line from the book (I literally burst out laughing and got my gum stuck in the book when I read it), and I AM SO GLAD it isn't there. (Openhome, Sat Nov 24, 2012 10:20 pm) ²

Completely agree with you, hon. That's one of the awkwardest lines in the whole series, meant to be touching but instead just weird. One of the times when Melissa's lines are much better. "Can I call you Dad now?" "No." (smitten_by_twilight, Sun Nov 25, 2012 2:52 am) ²

This distinction is echoed by a fan commenting on The Lion and the Lamb site after the BD2 Film Review:

The end scene between Edward and Jacob, when Jacob joked if he should call him "Dad", SO much better than in the book where Edward calls Jacob his son at the battle! (choctam, 19 Nov 2012, 08:51) ⁴

Through the adaptation process a misjudged piece of dialogue, which had jarred with fans at the time of reading, has been honed and reworded, losing none of its meaning, but instead injecting humour to replace the awkwardness. This episode provides an excellent example of the precision with which the fans had read and responded to the novel and noticed and appreciated the subtle changes made in the film adaptation.

In contrast, the opening scene of the film, where Bella acclimatizes to being a newborn vampire, has provoked some criticism, due to the speed and brevity of the episode. The book takes two chapters (Chap 20 – New & Chap 21 – First Hunt) and thirty-eight pages to describe the changes that Bella experiences. In the film these two chapters are amalgamated and Bella's adjustment period is dramatically reduced.

First off – wasn't happy with the opening scene. Where were the rest of the family? Where was Bella's terrified reaction to being a vampire? Girlfriend should have been crouched in the corner...Bottom line, it was a short, quick bit of fluff..and if I never have to hear Edward mumble 'so beautiful' again for the rest of my life, I will dance a jig. It was just too cheesy to handle. Let's move on.
(Kimmy, BD2 review, www.pagetopremier.com) ⁵

I wanted a little more build up to Bella's first moments. I kind of wanted to see her really freaked out at first like she was in the book- crouched, almost ready to attack. And I thought the Cullens should have been there. I thought they reacted so oddly when she came in to see Renesmee. Very, "Oh, you turned into a vampire over the last three days? I wondered where you were." Just kind of aloof and no impact (scarlett71177, 16 Nov 2012, 22:15 - for-forks-sake.livejournal.com) ⁶

Whilst this episode may have provoked some dissatisfaction for some, it is a good example of how the film adaptation played to a specific strength of its medium. The linear nature of reading a novel necessitates that the reader takes in the details of the scene in the order they are presented on the page, at the speed in which the author sets, with description, action, characters and atmosphere presented sequentially. In the film the audience is 'exposed to the multiplicity of signifiers contained within the space of a frame or series of frames' (McFarlane 1996, p.27) and can consume all this information in one shot, allowing the film to convey its message with more immediacy. Instead of being told in words how Bella responds to her new heightened vampiric senses, the film shows us what Bella sees and how minutely she experiences the world around her. We adopt Bella's point of view and see through her eyes. Without needing the words to describe it, the audience experiences Bella's awakening with her, and as such the film adds to the knowing audience's understanding of this episode by providing them with the opportunity to experience visually the words they have read on the page. It cannot, however, convey the other senses Bella experiences, such as smell, taste and touch, as successfully:

I did not need the air but I liked it. In it I could taste the room around me- taste the lovely dust motes, the mix of the stagnant air mixing with the flow of slightly cooler air from the open door. Taste a lush whiff of silk.

Taste a faint hint of something warm and desirable, something that should be moist but wasn't...That smell made my throat burn dryly, a faint echo of the venom burn, though the scent was tainted by the bite of chlorine and ammonia. And most of all I could taste an almost-honey-lilac-and-sun-flavoured scent that was the strongest thing, the closest thing to me. (*Breaking Dawn*, Chap.20 – New, p.358)

Herein may lie the reason for the dissatisfaction at the brevity of this scene.

Visually, a picture can indeed paint a thousand words, but for the other senses the screenplay cannot, in this instance, compete with the descriptive capacity of the novel.

A change in point of view which *is* received well, however, is the scene where Jacob phases into a werewolf in front of Bella's father, Charlie. As Rosenberg herself admits in an interview with Collider.com:

The book is all from Bella's point of view, so Jacob comes to her and says "Oh, I told your father I was a werewolf," but (author) Stephenie [Meyer] couldn't go away to that. Bella had to hear about it secondhand. I got to go away for it and actually write that scene. It's in the book but it allowed me some invention, in terms of how that would play out.... It was the same thing with the gathering of the vampires. From Bella's point of view, they show up and she hears about some backstory. I got to actually go on the journey to find them. I got to find Garrett in New Orleans, having dinner. That, to me, was actually some of the most fun work I got to do. (Collider.com, 14 Nov 2012)⁷

These deviations in point of view also provide the adaptors with moments of light relief which provide a contrast to the unfolding drama, something the book does not do:

Your theater will also be laughing throughout the scene where Jacob shows Charlie he's a wolf. I think that due to the cultural hugeness of these films, the *Part 2* laughs at itself a little more than past installments. It doesn't take itself too seriously, and that helps the movie work! (Kimmy West, PageToPremiere.com BD2 review, 14 Nov 2012)⁵

This suggests that, given the adaptors had already decided to creatively 'bend' Meyer's canon to construct the fight scene, this also liberated them creatively to

look at other scenes more imaginatively and to have some fun expanding on 'reported' scenes, thus providing fans with added insight and experience.

4.2.3. Reading meaning into textual imagery

On the TwilightSaga.com discussion thread [Movie did it better](#) there is an interesting debate about the merits of the real battle in the film versus the mental/emotional battle eluded to in book, and what political statements the author might be trying to convey through this dichotomy. Some fans interpret her lack of action in the book as a sign of pacifism through her use of a cerebral game of out-maneuvring, echoed by the chess metaphor on the front cover of the book. Many more though, felt disappointment: 'I am thankful that no one died, but after 300 pages of reading, I felt really let down. I felt like I had been emotionally duped or misled.' (JJ)⁸

Meyer addresses the question of 'why no action?' on her website thus:

I'm not the kind of person who writes a Hamlet ending. If the fight had happened, it would have ended with 90% of the combatants, Cullen and Volturi alike, destroyed. There was simply no other outcome once the fight got started, given the abilities and numbers of the opposing sides. Because I would never finish Bella's story on such a downer—Everybody dies!—I knew that the real battle would be mental. It was a game of maneuvering, with the champion winning not by destroying the other side, but by being able to walk away. This was another reason I liked the chess metaphor on the cover—it really fit the feel of that final game. I put a clue into the manuscript as well. Alice tore a page from *The Merchant of Venice* because the end of *Breaking Dawn* was going to be somewhat similar: bloodshed appears inevitable, doom approaches, and then the power is reversed and the game is won by some clever verbal strategies; no blood is shed, and the romantic pairings all have a happily ever after.⁹

Evidently though, Meyer acknowledged that this mental confrontation would not translate well to a visual medium, and so collaborated with Rosenberg to bring about a more visual representation of Aro's internal vision. Or was she, more simply, responding to the criticism of the novel, and taking a second attempt to

please her disgruntled audience? Some fans from the *Lexicon* forums think this was the case:

I really think this was SM's way of saying, for all those who criticized the anti-climactic ending of the book, here you go. (Violet Sunlight, Tue 27 Nov 2012, 11:23pm)²

If the Cullens lose they all die....She may well be saying that as a rebuke to anyone who was critical of her canon ending being anti-climactic and lame, as in "Be careful what you wish for."...It wouldn't surprise me if SM found the favorable reaction to the movie ending a little bittersweet., happy for its success but a little peeved that the movie ironically appears to vindicate fans who thought a little action there at the end of the book was the right way to go. (Corona, Wed 28 Nov 2012, 12:13pm)²

However as JJ from the TwilightSaga forum succinctly adds:

The movie showing us what "would have" happened made Bella getting the IDs for Nessie and Jacob important (in the book that is a completely pointless step that didn't need to be so elaborately detailed). The movie allowed you see what would happen and then release a breath that you didn't even realize that you were holding and be thankful 'that' did not happen. (JJ)⁸

And in many ways maybe that is an even more powerful way to get across a message of pacifism, if that had indeed been Meyer's intention.

4.3. The collaborative audience

It has already been demonstrated how Stephenie Meyer initiated and utilised her relationship with fans during the early stages of the franchise to positive effect, and how she has used her personal website to keep fans updated and respond to questions. This dialogue with fans has, I believe uniquely, also extended to other members of the adaptation team, with screenwriter Melissa Rosenberg and director of the final two films, Bill Condon, making use of social media to connect and reach out to fans during the adaptation process.

4.3.1. Fans' relationship with the screenwriter

Using her Facebook page Melissa Rosenberg has maintained contact and encouraged communication with fans whilst in the midst of writing the *Breaking Dawn* screenplays. At times she has openly requested feedback and opinion from fans. Comments began appearing on her page in early 2010 regarding suggestions as to how she might adapt *Breaking Dawn* for the screen, and once the decision was made to split the book into two films, there was then even further scope for fans to offer up suggested scenes and moments they wanted included in the films.

In an interview with Rosenberg for MTV News on 29th July 2010 it was reported that:

Fans interested in checking in more frequently with Rosenberg's "Dawn" progress can check out her Facebook page, which Rosenberg told us she checks regularly to see what Twi-hards are saying and involve them in plotline discussions. "I ask people to really weigh in with what are their favorite scenes in the books, what's important to them," Rosenberg said. "And there generally seems to be a consensus about one scene or another. It's really helpful for me and I'll interact with them sometimes."¹⁰

This statement resulted in hundred of comments from fans being posted on her Facebook page between then and the end of 2010, including specific scenes they wanted to see included in the final two film adaptations, suggested songs to accompany particular scenes, and numerous fans posting photographs of their daughters as potential actresses to play the role of Renesmee. The day after the MTV News interview Melissa responded to fans, via her Facebook page, saying:

Hi Guys - SOOOO great to read your thoughts on important moments in BD. I'm very much in agreement with almost every single thing you've mentioned, which makes me happy. And relieved. Still working away on all of it - it's far from finalized. But grateful to you all!!! xoxo Mel
(Facebook, 30 July 2010)¹¹

In terms of creating a successful adaptation, having this two-way dialogue with an audience who have an intimate knowledge of the text and have a

communication channel open to them to express their views, must be of real benefit to a screenwriter and would, at the very least, provide a consensus of opinion and a clear marker as to which scenes or episodes resonated most with fans.

She also adds that the fan interaction has helped her to squash any out-of-control Internet-generated rumours about her "Dawn" scripts. 'At one point, [the fans] were upset because they had gotten the impression that I was choosing not to put the birthing scene in the script, and I was able to go online and say, "I don't know where that idea came from, but of course the birthing scene is going to be in".'10

Thanks for all your thoughts! My feeling is - more or less blood, or more or less graphic violence, sex or childbirthing gore doesn't define *Breaking Dawn*. It's the characters, their journey, their relationships. The other stuff won't change that. So regardless of the rating, the story, essentially, is the story. I won't be able to satisfy ALL fans, but hopefully more fans than less. Keep commenting! xoxo, Mel (Facebook, 9 April 2010)¹¹

Looking forward, the fans feel there are still more stories to be told. The saga may be over but fans long to know what the future holds for Jacob and Renesmee, and the rest of the Cullens, and so interconnected is the relationship between Meyer and Rosenberg, it is suggested that the screenwriter might even take up the challenge herself:

Bella and Edward's saga is over but I look forward to the stories of others such as Alice's life before Carlisle, the Denali's or the Egyptian coven. Melissa can whip something up if Stephenie won't! (Davida Whyte, 26 Nov 2012, 10:54)¹²

This is a really interesting notion, taking collaborative authorship to another level, and suggests that, for the fans, the *story* and its characters are of more importance than their author. This again subverts the assumption of the author's absolute authority and implies that a storyworld could indeed take on a life of its own, beyond the pen of its author. It also implies, as in Rosenberg's case, that with enough knowledge of a storyworld, anyone with a credible enough

aficionado status could take up the challenge and this would be a very interesting argument to explore in relation to writers of fan fiction.

4.3.2. Fans' relationship with the director

On 25th November 2012, shortly after the release of *Breaking Dawn - Part 2* (2012), director Bill Condon wrote a 'thank you and goodbye' letter to the *Twilight* fans which was posted on the *Twilight* Saga Facebook page. This letter clearly demonstrates the relationship that exists between the director and the fans. In the first paragraph he refers back to a letter he wrote the fans three years previously. This letter, posted on 30th April 2010, was his letter of introduction as the new director in the franchise, and in it Condon demonstrated his credentials using very specific *Twilight* terminology to validate himself as part of the community.

Greetings Twihards, Twifans, Twilight Moms, Team Edward, Team Jacob and Team Switzerland..... I'm pretty busy bringing myself up to speed on what you already know by heart: I've read BREAKING DAWN twice, rewatched Catherine's and Chris's movies 2-3 times each, have all four CDs playing in my car, and have Catherine's notebook, Mark Cotta Vaz's companion books, and even Volume 1 of the graphic novel here on my desk ...I realize that this barely qualifies me for "newborn" status in the universe you've been living inside for a few years now, but a guy's gotta start somewhere.¹³

This introduction letter is packed with meaningful references for fans which aim to demonstrate the 'research' he has done to qualify himself as a member of the *Twilight* team. He also, cleverly, acknowledges the fans' knowledge and expertise by admitting that, despite taking all these steps to educate himself, he can never compete with the fans who have been 'living' in this universe for years and know it 'by heart'. Yet the letter asserts his seriousness and commitment, and lays a strong foundation of trust and respect for the ensuing two films.

Condon addresses his final letter 'to our global Twihard family' – a family to which he now evidently feels he belongs by his use of the terms 'we' and 'our'. Condon recognises the fans as part of the creative team – 'I'm very proud of what we've created together' and acknowledges how the film has been created with the fans' expectations in mind, using the word 'gifts' to demonstrate how certain elements have been chosen and tailored specifically for the fandom:

I hope that PART II fulfils your expectations for the grand finale to Stephenie's sprawling saga. Fingers crossed that you've also managed to remain at least mostly spoiler-free, in order to enjoy the twists and parting gifts we have in store for you...¹²

He also provides a telling example of how the fans' intimate knowledge of detail came to his aid during filming:

I don't think I'll ever live down the shame of being spied on by Twihard covens around the world on our very first night of shooting in Rio. Thanks to photos shot and instantly posted online of Bella and Edward on honeymoon, we were called out in real time for missing a certain engagement ring.... (Sorry – again!) ¹²

What might have been perceived as a problem, in terms of security and leaking of spoiler information, in fact turned into a perfect example of the 'knowing audience' providing continuity advice during the filming process.

Condon's parting letter invoked more than 2,900 Facebook comments (as at 21/6/12), once again indicating the strength of the two-way relationship. The majority of these comments express the fans' pride and gratitude.

I was at the marathon here in Bristol, Va and we all lol'ed, cried and gasped at the final end scene.... And we were, for a time, a group of strangers brought together as a family. So have you, Bill, been part of the Twilight family. I have never, in all my years of being a fan, seen as director as engaged with fans as you were (are).
(Erica Lyn Bishop, 26 November 2012 18:48)¹²

Fans pour praise on Condon, singling out his directorship as the best in the franchise:

I love how Condon found ways to include all the directors even while making this his own unique vision of the story. And I love that he tied all the disparate styles together. It sews all the movies together into a quilt. (Shimmerskin, 21 Nov 2012, 04:36)¹⁴

The sheer number of personal expressions of thanks that make up a large percentage of the 2,900+ comments left after his farewell letter are far too numerous to mention, but the overriding themes that emerge in these messages are of thanks for his care, faithfulness and vision, his respect of the books, gratitude for his inclusion and recognition of the fans, and pride at being part of the *Twilight* community and journey.

Thank you for your great understanding of the fans of this saga. Thank you for taking care of us. (Carola Noack – 26 Nov 2012, 17:27)¹²

Bill, I couldn't ever thank you enough! You've accomplished what seemed impossible for us twihards – made what was already perfect to become flawless perfect! (Carol Cardozo, 26 Nov 2012, 01:56)¹²

Thank you Bill, Your love for our canon showed in every scene, every line. You made my favourite book better. (Libbie LaPlante Bement, 26 Nov 2012, 00:56)¹²

Bill rocks! See people, give the fans what they want and they will stay with you and be happy! Roni Lee Goodman, 26 Nov 2012 00:29)¹²

4.3.3. 'Fan moments' and ownership

Another important theme to emerge from the fan discussion is their recognition and appreciation of 'fan moments' in the film. These episodes take one of two forms – either (1) an episode which has 'gaps' in the film which may not be clear to a non-reader but which will make sense if you have read the book, or (2) episodes which have very subtle nuances included in the film that will only resonate with a knowing fan. An example of a 'gap' relates to the future of Jacob and Renesmee, where the discussion is prompted from a blatantly 'them and us' standpoint:

What do you think non-readers will think of Renesmee and Jacob's ending? My sister didn't get it... Renesmee is a half-vampire. We know from Nahuel that she will live forever, it's clear. But for my sister, it wasn't clear that Jake could/would also live forever. While I didn't give it a second thought... (Brienna, Tue Nov 20, 2012 2:46 am)²

A responding fan is very dismissive to the non-reading audience, making sweeping generalisations about the adaptation process:

I think it's just part of the book to movie process.....The people who turn these series into blockbusters are the fans of the books. We're the ones they keep in mind, as they've said in countless interviews. If they needed to explain everything in the book, it would be boring as much as people would like to deny it. So, no hate to the non-readers, but you need to be prepared to not understand everything going on. (Amanda Beth, Tue Nov 20, 2012 3:45 am)²

The knowing fans clearly see themselves in collaboration with the filmmaking team – *they* are the assumed target audience, and anyone else watching the film must be prepared for possible confusion or misunderstanding, or to miss subtle elements of the storyline altogether:

I suspect what happened with Jacob was that they were carefully soft-peddalling the whole imprinting thing, trying not to be too direct... BC likely decided to not even bring it up and leave that one to the fans. (corona, Fri Nov 23, 2012 2:14 pm)²

These 'gap' incidences also provide the perfect opportunity for fans to reassert their knowing credentials:

Didn't they explain the non-aging wolves part in one of the earlier movies? I could swear that was in Eclipse... but then I have read the books so many times I'm probably just filling in details in my head. (mainhoonemily, Fri Nov 23, 2012 6:28 pm)²

And relating back to Bourdieu and Fiske's theory of cultural capital, the reading audience reap the social prestige and self-esteem of being 'in the know', suggesting that non-reading audience members might require a knowledgeable fan to accompany them to the cinema, to act as mentor and interpreter:

It's cool how so many of you guys and the non-book readers picked up on the whole werewolves-never-aging-with-regular-phasing thing not being mentioned in the movie. I can't even remember realising it was never explained, because I just filled in that gap with my book knowledge. It's good how that happens I guess. I bet they counted on that really. Or that movie goers who hadn't read the books would see it with someone who had? (Naterpie, Sat Nov 24, 2012 4:05 pm) 2

Other fan moments, full of nuance rather than omission, are cited and welcomed. Much of the final battle scene draws on small details from past books, which provide added depth and meaning:

This was a well thought out battle scene. I love it when things work on multiple levels. As we know, dismembered vampires can be put back together again as long as they aren't burned. This is one little detail the canon fans are quite aware of, even though it has never been depicted. Not much time to burn body parts when engaged in a battle. Bella does take the time, though, when she and Edward take Aro apart. That's great for the cinematic visual, but also great for the canon fans who would quibble (I know I would) if Aro had fallen but we hadn't seen him get burned. Aro has to burn. Thank you Bill and Melissa and Stephenie. It is appreciated. (corona, Tue Nov 27, 2012 11:42 am) 2

The capacity for the film adaptation to 'work on multiple levels' is where its real power lies. For a non reading audience, an unfamiliar storyline, an unknown outcome and plenty of action are sufficient entertainment. Yet for an audience with a deep knowledge of the originating book, the film takes on an added dimension - a puzzle to be deciphered, a literal 'I Spy' game of canonical nods and nuances:

Marcus and his "Finally" was when I knew how much Stephenie was involved in planning the battle. Only big fans of the book would know why he wanted to die. (Amanda Beth, Mon Nov 19, 2012 2:25 pm) 2

The film's closing scene and final credits are also cited as moments that seem to have been crafted solely for the fans:

Everything that flows from the battle onwards is like one big butterfly kiss to the book fans. The meadow scene, the final paragraph, the names of Jacob and Edward and Bella being lifted off the pages in the final credits. A tribute to the stars, to the characters, to the author and ultimately to us, the reader. (corona, Mon Nov 19, 2012 4:08 pm) 2

A striking theme which reoccurs time and time again is the sense of ownership felt by fans about the *Twilight* storyworld, and is summed up succinctly by one fan in the comments left after Bill Condon's farewell letter to fans on Facebook: 'Thank you for giving "our" story a vision.' (Susan Anderson 26 Nov 2012, 21:46)¹² and by another fan expressing her sense of ownership of the *Twilight* canon: 'Thank you Bill. Your love for our canon showed in every scene, every line. You made my favourite book better.' (Libbie LaPlante Bement 26 Nov 2012 00:56)¹²

Despite the praise heaped upon the film, for elevating its book to new heights, the closing scenes of the film draw the audience inexorably back to the book – and by association, the reader. Early adaptation theory judged a film's success on its fidelity to the source text and, as I have demonstrated, today's fans of the book clearly still crave a certain degree of accuracy and faithfulness. Yet by breaking with genre conventions, albeit within the safe and trusted hands of the author, this unconventional adaptation has proved to fans that the element of surprise that comes with a cleverly crafted variation can be even more satisfying than the exact replication of the story from page onto screen:

Completely non-canon and impossible from what we know of Alice's visions, and yet filled with amazing details purely for the book fans. This is an ending that was feared to be tortured to fit itself to Hollywood convention, and yet is full of hidden nods to the fans. (corona, Mon Nov 19, 2012 4:08 pm)²

4.4. The viewing audience

4.4.1. Documenting the cinematic effect

The adapted ending of *Breaking Dawn - Part 2* (2012) leads to a unique and unexpected cinematic experience for knowledgeable *Twilight* fans. As an audience who are intimately acquainted with the text and its outcome, the four previous films in the franchise have produced no surprises for them. However, in the case of *Breaking Dawn - Part 2* (2012), the author and screenwriter take the precarious decision to break with cinematic convention and kill off two major characters during the final fight scene/vision.

The success of the film's climax is largely down to the selection of *which* characters are seen to be killed during the fight scene. Although not one of the main three protagonists in the story, Carlisle (the first to die) is pivotal to the plot and to the sequence of events that follows. From the previous three novels and four films we have learned enough about Carlisle to know that he is a loyal, peace-loving man, whose primary motivation is protecting his family. He is reasoned, loyal, humane and fair and so the very fact that it is he who charges into battle first, signifies how central this battle is in seeking justice for his family and how far the Cullens might go as a group to clear their name. This lays the foundation upon which the audience then suspends its disbelief on the scene that unfolds and provokes the paralysing shock at Carlisle's apparent death. Momentarily finding themselves in a state of disbelief, the full horror of the confrontation hits the audience when Jasper, the most ferocious and skilled fighter amongst the Cullen clan, meets his death. With two of the Cullens' key players out of the frame, how can this situation possibly end well?

a. Charting a very physical reaction

The reaction from fans within the cinemas is well documented online, both in the forums and on Facebook and it is interesting to contrast these two sets of reactions as they shine a light on two very different types of fans. While the forums provide a place for aficionado fans to discuss more detailed readings of the film, comments posted on the official *Twilight Saga* Facebook page, and that of screenwriter Melissa Rosenberg, provide a very immediate platform for a wider range of fans to express their reaction, many of whom may not have read the books and may simply be fans of the film franchise.

On 17th November 2012, the day after the release of the film Rosenberg posted a photo still of the final fight scene on her Facebook page and teased fans with the question: ‘Do you know what happened next?’ The comments left by fans display a wide range of very physical responses to the fight scene.

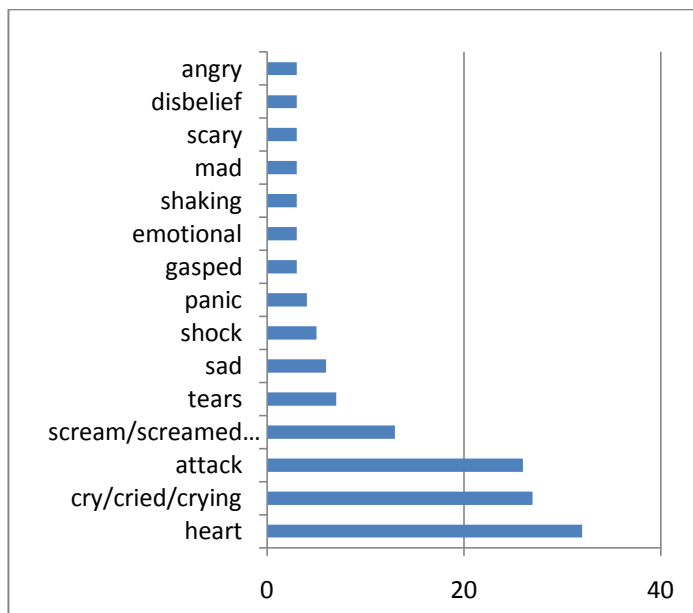


Figure 4:4. Frequency of words used in reply to Melissa Rosenberg's Facebook post dated 17th November 2012, displaying the physical symptoms and emotions felt by fans [measured using www.textfinder.com]

Of the 233 responses gathered, 26 make reference to having a ‘heart attack’, 34 use the word cry/crying/cries or tears, and 13 use the words scream or screamed. Lesser numbers reported feelings of anxiety, panic, shaking, puking,

throwing up, shock and holding their breath. As well as these very visceral physical reactions, other fans reported strong feelings of anger. One fan, Kennedy Bowden, writes: 'Almost headed home to destroy my room'¹⁵ while another commenter, Amy Traylor Acree, admits 'I almost walked out'¹⁵. A further fan, Kalia Broussard, provides an interesting quote which details the full gamut of emotions felt throughout the latter part of the film:

I was not expecting this. My God though...I seriously screamed....The whole theater did. Then I cried. Got angry. And almost stormed out. But thank God I didn't. Because the way y'all twisted the plot was epic. I ended up crying again but this time happy tears – and ended up laughing at myself at how ridiculous I was being. The whole time I was thinking "How could they do this to us? How could Stephenie Meyer allow this? This is bull!" But I'm glad the way it ended.¹⁵

The juxtaposition of positive and negative language in this quote is typical of the fans' response. Paradoxically, despite generating all these unpleasant feelings and emotions, the overwhelming message from fans was that they *loved* the film, and that it is precisely *because* of this extreme range of emotions – from shock to anger to relief to happiness – that leads to the particular success of this adaptation. The juxtaposition of these disparate terms recurs over and over again:

I almost had a panic attack! It was the most perfect ending...I cried for last 20 minutes! Can't wait to see it again! (Karen Mallen)¹⁵

I got sick to my stomach then I got mad and then I was like WOW... loved it. (Barbie Freeman)¹⁵

The anger, the tension.....and then the relief, that's what made the movie the best one yet. (Helen Isitt)¹⁵

These surprising and opposing reactions are exactly what an audience would *not* expect from a film adaptation of a familiar book, meaning that the *full* impact of this adapted ending can only truly be felt by viewers who are familiar with the book, and who have invested the additional time and affection in the characters that appear to have been killed.

The reaction of the fans is like a gently rising line on graph of recognizable enjoyment with a sharp spike of shock/anger/upset around 20 minutes from the end of the film, when their preconceptions are inexplicably challenged and everything they thought they knew is called into question .

I've read each book 32 times each. But I have to admit in the battle scene it made me think "What! Did that happen in the book?" (Lizette Morticia Way Cullen 26 Nov 2012 00:12)¹²

The extreme physical responses appear to derive from the shock of the unexpected and if the film had ended at this point, with several of the main characters dead, this shock and these unpleasant emotions would have prevailed. The film adaptation *needs* to revert back to convention and back to the familiarity of the book, thereby allowing the fans to return to their position of knowledge, and it does so both figuratively and literally, with the final scene depicting the turning of the pages of the actual novel, and a close-up of the final word in the book 'forever'.

Following director Bill Condon's farewell message to fans on the official *Twilight Saga* Facebook page, many of the 2,900+ comments left in response to this letter provide further illustrations of the visceral reactions demonstrated on Rosenberg's page, ranging from Jan Humphries admitting 'The surprise scene had me devastated, angry and ready to throw up' (26 Nov 2012 00:30)¹² to Tracy D Pass confessing 'All I can say is O....M....G! In the space of 5 mins I went from wanting to kill you to wanting to shower you with kisses!!!' (26 Nov 2012 00:19)¹²

The comments left after Condon's letter also highlight another interesting aspect of this pleasure/pain dichotomy. Several fans comment on the enjoyment derived from sharing this emotional rollercoaster with a community of like-minded people:

I was at the marathon here in Bristol, Va and we all lol'ed, cried and gasped at the final end scene.... And we were, for a time, a group of strangers brought together as a family. (Erica Lyn Bishop - 26 Nov 2012 18:48)¹²

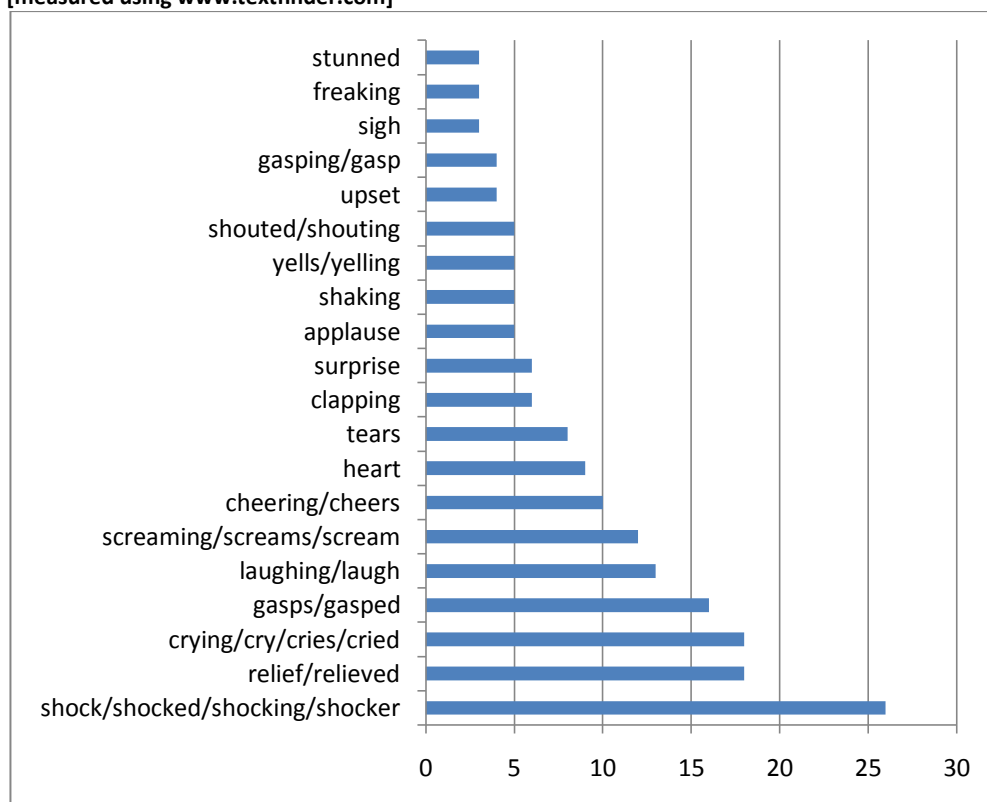
The term 'family' is a recurring description of the *Twilight* fandom and in this instance is particularly interesting. The institution of family is punctuated by births, deaths, trials, tribulations, successes and failures that span whole lifetimes, and usually you would experience these highs and lows with your family members. In this situation however, it is as if the heightened emotions experienced during the film are providing a condensed version of this family experience with, at the very least a group of strangers in a darkened cinema, but for many more, a group of like-minded devotees online.

Given that the previous quotes were gathered from Facebook, where it difficult to ascertain the demographics of the fan base, one might be forgiven for thinking that these extreme reactions may have come from a younger, more naïve audience. However, of all the fan forums, the one that was created specifically for an older audience, *TwilightMoms*, reveals a striking similarity in its response. At the time of the cinema release of *Breaking Dawn – Part 2* (2012) *TwilightMoms.com* was one of most visited of the *Twilight* fan sites, boasting 45,347 members and 2,675,781 posts (as at 1/8/12). *TwilightMoms* was founded in November 2007 by 39 year old Lisa Hansen who, after reading the early books in the saga, was desperate to connect with other thirty-something women who shared her fixation. The demographic of this site is clearly reiterated by its strap line 'The Hand That Rocks The Cradle Is the Hand That Rules The World' and by its About Us description on Facebook - 'The *Twilight* site for grown-ups'. Whilst written for teenagers the *Twilight* books found an unexpectedly ardent place in the hearts of middle-aged women, and whilst the inclusion of the term 'mom' might imply 'old enough to know better' to cynics, it also provides a very clear signpost for fans who fit the description and wish to share their obsession and/or guilty secret.

As with the *Lexicon* forums, the members who contribute to the *TwilightMoms* forums are highly engaged and extremely well acquainted with the *Twilight* books. The forums are highly organised with threads separated by topic, with moderators beginning a discussion which then tends to stay on theme. In terms of analysis it is therefore difficult to assess if these are the things fans instinctively wanted to discuss or were prompted to discuss. Nonetheless, for research purposes it is very helpful to have the forums separated and organised in this way.

One such dedicated thread entitled BD2: how did the theater you were in react to the battle scene offers more insight into the extreme cinematic experience and response.

Figure 4:5. Frequency of words used in reply to TwilightMoms.com discussion thread BD2: how did the theater you were in react to the battle scene displaying physical symptoms and emotions felt by fans [measured using www.textfinder.com]



Interestingly an analysis of word frequency in this thread shows less of the extreme physical references than were found on Rosenberg's Facebook page. Here we do not find as many references to heart attacks, panic attacks, anger or throwing up. Here the overriding emotion is shock, followed closely by relief. There are high instances of crying and screaming, but also high recordings of laughter and cheering. One might explain this lesser physical response to the demographics of the forum – we know these fans are older, more mature and therefore possibly more measured in their response. It might also be attributed to their proven knowledge of the texts and their ability to suspend their disbelief just a little longer by studying clues in the film and using their intimate knowledge to decode the vision they are seeing on screen in response to facts they know are true in the books. It might also be the case that these more mature forum members are less willing to admit the physicality of their response. Whilst admitting shock is acceptable and natural, given their very precise expectations as to how the story ends, admitting to panic attacks and nausea might not be.

However it might also be surmised that, rather than the *Twilight Moms* downplaying their emotional reaction to the fight scene, the commentators on Melissa Rosenberg's Facebook page might be *over-stating* their reaction. The idea of identity as performance, developed by Goffman in 1959, is a 'theatrical metaphor that can be used to articulate the shifting calculus of interpersonal relations that occur as we engage with others as well as exchange information' (Pearson 2009). This concept of performance can be far-reaching, with users experimenting with new and different online identities, in terms of sex, class or race (Kendall 1998) or more simply, in this instance, manifesting as a more exaggerated version of themselves and their reactions, as the impetus of the shared reactions to the film becomes a competition of superlatives and of one-upmanship in overstated response. 'To use the language of Web 2.0, individuals construct identities relative to their networks' (Pearson 2009) and if many of the

comments left by fans are describing an extreme reaction, this might influence certain individuals to embellish and exaggerate their own language in an attempt to fit in or to stand out within a network or peer group.

Nonetheless there is still strong anecdotal evidence in the *Twilight Moms* forum of extreme physical reactions to the fight scene:

You could hear people saying oh my god, yells, lots of sounds – I was in total shock – thought I was going to have a heart attack.... All I could think about was how fast I could get home to take my heart pills (I get palpitations)...at least the nearest hospital was 3 minutes away.... I have never been so shocked in a movie before – but I loved the ending.
(princessdi)¹⁶

And one fan does admit to suffering from a very specific medical complaint following the film: ‘The battle scene kind of screwed me up. I was (and still am) suffering from PTSD (Post Twilight Stress Disorder).’ (italiahaircolor)¹⁶

There is also evidence that, being engaged in the fandom, and privy to insider information, may have in fact *added* to the shock value, and that sometimes too much information can be a bad thing:

There was a huge intake of breath when Carlisle ‘died’ and because we’d been led to believe that there would be a shock at the end, I think everyone thought that was it. (jed)¹⁶

b. The pleasures of a communal experience

Aside from individual reactions, there is yet again further evidence of the communal participation in this rollercoaster of emotions, with fans experiencing the good and the bad in equal measure, as this quote from italiahaircolor demonstrates:

When Aro ripped Carlisle’s head off....I do think my heart stopped beating....The theatre was full of *gasps*...the breathless sort, like everyone collectively had the wind knocked out of them. It was fairly guttural..... I do remember when Aro was beheaded and the whole place lit

up like the 4th July... there was clapping and cheering and woo-hooing...all of which, in the big reveal, was followed up by more clapping and cheering and woo-hooing. ¹⁶

This feeling of community and shared experience is reaffirmed time and time again, suggesting that the collective response to the film is a clear indicator of its success:

Any time you watch a movie and the whole audience gasps at the same time, that's an awesome movie. (Betty Stanley -25 Nov 2012 23:52)¹²

The entire audience was on the edge of their seat, with emotional reactions. There was plenty of crying! I have never seen a reaction like that from an audience in a theater... ever. I don't care about your opinion of *Twilight* as a whole, that's a triumph for any movie. (PageToPremier BD2 film review, Kimmy West)⁵

There is also very interesting evidence of hierarchy, and elitism amongst fans, with 'true' fans wanting to share the cinematic experience with other 'true' fans:

I went to the earliest showing of BD2 this morning...I thought it would be the best time to go without all the teeny-boppers howling at shirtless Jacob and mooning over the hotness of Edward. But as it turns out....it was me making all the noise. (italiahaircolor)¹⁶

c. **Knowing 'viewers' – how fans responded on subsequent viewings**

Perhaps an even more interesting aspect that derives from this discussion thread however, is how the fans respond to a second or third viewing, once the element of shock and surprise has been removed from the equation. One fan, italiahaircolor, who is particularly engaged in this discussion, describes how she still felt a strong physical reaction, even on a subsequent viewing:

On viewing two I was able to enjoy the movie and I thought (having the benefit of knowing what comes next) that I would be fine through the battle....but as they walked across the field, my stomach tensed up and heart started to race and I had to make a conscious effort to breathe and remind myself "It's only going to be a vision... A VISION!" ¹⁶

However, her feelings of anxiety *were* lessened enough to notice other fine points she had missed on first viewing and to appreciate added layers of meaning in these small details:

I was able to grab hold of those details I missed before (like Bella almost being beheaded and de-armed while Edward was on his back watching helplessly). Though I was still really disturbed over the loss of Seth because I was catching all those *new* details, like Leah watching her brother die...there was "new" shock in the smallest moments. ¹⁶

Having already watched the film and experienced the initial rush of shock, the *TwilightMoms* audience then appear to regain their composure, and their hierarchically superior aficionado status, during subsequent viewings:

I've seen it three times now and it's the most entertaining thing.... To keep an ear out and pin point which section of the theatre are in for the first time (usually the ones gasping or panting in relief, laughing nervously and whispering thank god) and which sections of the theatre have seen it before (usually the quiet ones who look around and giggle at the other's reactions.) (Sweets)¹⁶

Adding another layer of 'knowledge' to their credentials, allows them to react somewhat disdainfully towards those who are experiencing their strong reaction for the first time:

While there were some gasps and cries of relief at the reveal....there was a huge "OOOOOhhhhhh" from the audience which made me chuckle.... So yesterday afternoon I went with a friend...During the battle scene? She. Lost. Her. Mind. I don't blame her, but I was trying not to laugh because I wanted to focus on looking for things that I hadn't noticed before...SO I had to try and ignore her. (Eyes of the Oracle)¹⁶

This evidence of intense viewing on subsequent visits is also interesting. It is apparent that the heightened emotions felt during the initial viewing hampered the viewers' ability to tune in to the finer details, however on subsequent viewings, aficionado fans could decode more detailed messages and build upon their enjoyment in increasing layers, by both watching and sharing their findings with their peers online.

4.4.2. Screenwriting models and *Breaking Dawn* – Part 2

In his book *Screenplay* acclaimed screenwriter Syd Field outlines the framework for a successful screenplay, or the paradigm of dramatic structure, as Set up > Plot Point 1 > Confrontation > Plot Point 2 > Resolution. It is accepted that a good story requires a beginning, a middle and an end, however Field asserts that two key Plot Points are required to 'move the story forward....and hold the paradigm in place' (Field 2005, p.143). He defines a Plot Point as 'any incident, episode, or event that hooks into the action and spins it around in another direction.' In *Breaking Dawn- Part 2* (2012) Plot Point 1 occurs when Irina sees Renesmee and wrongly accuses the Cullens of creating an immortal child, thereby provoking the Volturi to exert punishment on the Cullens. Plot Point 2 occurs when the witnesses assemble to vouch for the Cullens' innocence and a fight ensues.

In his book *Story – Substance, structure, style and the principles of screenwriting* Robert McKee outlines a similar 5 part structure, but with slightly differing elements:

A story is a design in five parts: the *Inciting Incident*, the first major event of the telling, is the primary cause for all that follows, putting into motion the other four elements – *Progressive Complications*, *Crisis*, *Climax*, *Resolution*. (McKee 1999, p.181)

Applying this framework to *Breaking Dawn - Part 2* (2012), the Inciting Incident again becomes Irina's erroneous accusation of the Cullens. The following four elements, however, fit the narrative of the film slightly better than Field's model. The Complications neatly form the sub-plots of the wolf pack's threatened retaliation, Jacob's imprinting on Renesmee and Alice and Jasper's disappearance. The Crisis can be viewed as the Cullens' united decision to confront the Volturi, thus prompting them to travel the globe to recruit friends and witnesses and to help them convince the Volturi of Renesmee's unique birthright in order to clear their name.

It is apparent that, structurally, the Climax and the Resolution in the film conform to both models. Unusually though, in the case of both the book and the film, it is not the main protagonist's decision which creates the climax of the story, but that of Aro, the head of the Volturi. And even more interesting is the revelation that fans have not, in fact, gained the desired climactic effect from the ending in the novel in the same way that they have from the film ending.

The final fight scene, which lasts 8 minutes 45 seconds on screen, is merely alluded to in the book:

Aro stared into my eyes for a long, tense moment. I had no idea what he was searching for, or what he found, but after he had measured me for a moment, something in his face changed, a faint shift in the set of his mouth and eyes, and I knew that Aro had made his decision.
(*Breaking Dawn*, p.738)

By transforming this single sentence into the 'epic finale' of a five film franchise, Meyer and Rosenberg succeed on two cinematic counts – firstly they 'turn what is mental into the physical' (McKee 1999, p.368). Film is often criticised for being unable to portray internal monologue as well as novels, but in this instance the lesson Aro learns visually on screen is far more powerful than the lesson he learns simply by looking into Bella's eyes. The audience too *feels* the power of this lesson, along with the horror of what might have been, in a very primal and physical way, as we have seen.

Secondly, Meyer and Rosenberg 'give the audience what it wants, but not the way it expects' (McKee 1999, p.310). It is well documented amongst the forums that there was a sense of disappointment and unfulfilment amongst readers at the end of the novel *Breaking Dawn*. Several fans remark on how the ending of the book was 'boring' and anticlimactic - and how the film had given them what they had been waiting for – action and a sense of resolution:

I liked Breaking Dawn (the book) all the way up until the "battle" and then it was disappointing, but the movie was exactly what I was looking for.
(mom of 3 twitterers)¹⁷

I loved the movie! Reading the book I felt sort of unfulfilled, there wasn't really a climax. The movie added more of that intense on edge feeling. (allheart246)¹⁷

I've prepared myself for changes from the real book...because, let's face it.. it sucks without the fight *hides in the bushes* (yamapink 22 Nov 2012, 10:53)¹⁸

The readers here clearly *want* a climax. They don't want any of their beloved characters to die and are glad that the confrontation ends peacefully, but they largely agree that *something* is missing. As McKee asserts, 'The Climax of the last act is your great imaginative leap. Without it you have no story. Until you have it, your characters wait like suffering patients praying for a cure' (McKee 1999, p.309), and so too, it seems, will your readers. As fans and devotees of the novels, these fans *think* they want faithfulness to the text; they *think* they want the adaptors to stay true to their much-loved books. But the evidence shows it is precisely the deviation and embellishment of the text that has enhanced their enjoyment of the book in an instinctive way that even *they* could not have imagined.

4.4.3. Criticism and limitations of the adaptation

From an objective research perspective, there was a surprising lack of negative reaction from fans on the forums which might suggest a lack of balance to my hypothesis. On the *TwilightMoms* forums, one fan asks Anyone else disappointed in BD2? This is an interesting discussion because it is the only example I found of a fan categorically raising their disappointment in the film as a topic for discussion. On the *Twilight Saga* Facebook page, and Melissa Rosenberg's page, fan reaction had been overwhelmingly positive and it would have taken a brave fan to raise their head above the parapet and state their displeasure amongst such an adoring crowd. This discussion thread, however, amongst the safety of well-informed peers, would be the perfect opportunity for

any other disappointed fans to air their views to an accepting audience. Yet the response to this enquiry overwhelmingly reaffirms how much the forum members approved of the ending.

Interestingly the in depth review posts appeared to find more faults with the film than was found amongst the forum discussions. The two fan reviews on *pagetopremier.com* are largely positive, but both make reference to the strangeness of the digitally enhanced baby, whose rapid development was created using CGI. For one reviewer, Amy, these digital limitations proved a distraction. Describing the digitally enhanced baby as ‘the elephant in the room’ she explains: ‘The special FX of plastering the emotion full face on a baby, toddler and then child didn’t work for me and mostly because of their lack of consistency....It made it really difficult for me to make any type of connection with her.’⁵ The other reviewer, Kimmy, acknowledged the limitations of CGI technology and whilst, on first viewing comments that ‘seeing a baby that is obviously not real, took me out of the story for a little bit,’ was able to reconcile this response on second viewing: ‘She’s half vampire, half human so she shouldn’t look completely human. That realization helped me accept this CGI baby Renesmee; but she still felt a little creepy.’⁵

There was also some negative reaction to the music used in the final film. Amy notes that ‘much of the score was literally a repeat of music from Part 1’. Whilst this may have been done intentionally by the director to provide continuity between the 2 films, she remarks that ‘I don’t feel like there’s a connection between scene and song like there have been so often in the other films’⁵ which might suggest that this repetition of music, whilst natural in the first film, was somewhat forced and self-imposed in the second.

The review from fan site *mytwilightpurgatory.com* is balanced in terms of negative and positive response. Interestingly, we find out at the end of the

review that the writer is one of the many 'middle-aged mum' fans of the saga, which may explain her negative reaction to another scene in the film:

Cottage scene. Um, zzzzz. Total snoozefest....I was annoyed that we didn't get to see Edward finally let LOOSE himself and be the seriously hot vampire we all know he can be. Once again we just watched some gag-me, naked, close-up shoulder shots...I would have rathered if they kept their clothes on and dropped to the floor like they did in the book. Buttt...we have to pander to the tween crowd now, don't we. Grrr. Don't get me started.¹⁹

This reviewer may make more negative comments about the film than others, but her negativity is presented in a light-hearted, almost comical way: 'I'm not going to lie – some of this film is pure cheese. The Irish Coven made me laugh right out loud because they were so stereotypical.... I think the Cullens cheesed me out the most this time around. They were just so Stepford!'¹⁹ But her criticism comes across affectionately and she concludes her review with a reflection on the life-changing impact *Twilight* has personally had on her.

Within the forums there is an unexpected acceptance and understanding of the adaptation process, with frequent comments alluding to the limitations, need for action and condensing required in the film compared to the book. This further demonstrates the credentials of this 'knowing audience' – they know their subject matter but they also have an understanding of the adaptation process.

I thought it was shocking yes... but an addition to the movie, not a change. What I loved is that it didn't make a difference to the outcome....It was just this huge "heart attack" moment they probably had to put in because leaving it as is wouldn't have translated as well or been as captivating on the visual screen. (sweets)¹⁷

However this praise might simply mean that this was a badly written book. Would fans obtain from the film this same sense of delayed resolution if the book had been written well and had a more climactic ending in the first place? It might be argued that the strength and success of this film adaptation has simply highlighted the weaknesses in its source novel. In the section of his book dealing

with the problem of adaptation McKee presents two principles of adaptation, the first being: 'The purer the novel, the purer the play, the worse the film'. He generalises such 'pure' novels as being those with 'a telling located exclusively at the level of inner conflict, employing linguistic complexities to incite, advance, and climax story with relative independence of personal, social, and environmental forces' citing James Joyce's *Ulysses* as his example (McKee 1999, p.367).

Much of the narrative in the *Twilight* Saga books is presented from Bella's point of view, through her thoughts, and these are successfully conveyed in the film through the use of voice over. However there is enough external conflict and opportunity for the film to transport the audience away from Bella's limited perspective and *show* scenes unfolding, rather than *hearing* about them second hand from Bella, to meet McKee's criteria. It may *not* be a well written book, but as an adaptive starting point, it is a good choice.

McKee goes on to offer the following advice to would-be screenwriters: 'Ask yourself, "Is this story well told?" Then brace yourself, for nine times out of ten you'll discover it's not. Just because a writer got a play to the stage or a novel into print doesn't mean that he has mastered his craft. Story is the hardest thing we all do', which leads him to offer up his 'second principle of adaptation: Be prepared to reinvent.' (McKee 1999, p.368)

This turns on its head the notion of the artistic and hierarchical superiority of the novel, and considerably elevates the role of the screenwriter and the status of the adaptation. This idea is championed by fans too:

I was unsure when I first heard that they were changing things but I'm so glad they did.....I would be thrilled if SM brought a new version of the book out including this as that part of BD was always a bit boring for me! (for the love of twilight)¹⁷

The very idea of a film adaptation prompting a revised version of its source text is a delicious irony to all the purists who view film as the poor relation of the novel, but one that supports the current theory of convergence and the blurring of lines, media and rules in art. But even more than this, it reaffirms the cyclical and collaborative quality of 'story' which dates back to the oral tradition of storytelling, suggesting perhaps that no story can ever be perfect or complete and that no single author can possibly create perfection. But that maybe, through the very process of applying the scriptwriter's editing and refinement, the fans' interpretation and the director's cinematic vision, adaptation might come the closest yet to this notion of storytelling perfection.

5. Conclusion

As I left the cinema in the early hours of the morning on 16th November, having watched the very first showing of *Breaking Dawn – Part 2* (2012) in the UK, I felt a very real sense that the cinematic ‘twist’ I had just witnessed must not be shared with friends who had not yet seen the film. That this ‘spectacle’ needed to be experienced without spoilers, without ‘knowing’, in order to fully appreciate and enjoy the rollercoaster of emotions it generated. And as fans left cinemas across the world, one by one, these knowing audiences became privy to this same secret, creating a whole new level of ‘knowing audience’ within the *Twilight* fandom.

This thesis posed the question of whether a film adaptation could elevate its source novel and enhance the reading experience for its fans. The film in question, *Breaking Dawn – Part 2* (2012), was of particular interest because its ending differed from that in the book. My research study examined unprompted discussion on active fan sites and discovered that by experiencing the text as readers, collaborators and viewers, this knowing audience of *Twilight* fans enjoyed a unique and satisfying experience which supplemented and intensified the pleasure they derived from reading the book. Fans noted feeling a sense of resolution and completion after watching the film. Any parting sense of anti-climax felt upon finishing the book was remedied by the film’s action, and in particular by experiencing an extreme range of physical emotions brought about by the shock of the film’s unexpected fight scene. The altered ending may have challenged their expertise in the *Twilight* storyworld as well as their apparent desire for fidelity but, overwhelmingly, they approved.

As intense *readers* the fans enjoy the intellectual and mental challenge of testing their reading of the story and their understanding of Meyer's canon against those of fellow readers and later against those of the adapting team. As *collaborators* the fans take pleasure in a feeling of inclusion and ownership within the franchise. To see their very vocal criticism of the novel's ending reworked and rectified in the film adaptation further justifies their status as aficionados and provokes a sense of vindication, challenging the assumption in adaptation theory that the book is finite and that the author has authority over her canon and narrative. And finally as *viewers*, the fans enjoy the startling and unforeseen pleasure of being surprised within the confines of a familiar storyworld in which they believe themselves to be experts, which in turn challenges their previously held longing for fidelity.

Whilst it is tempting to make generalised statements about the positive benefits of collaborative adaptation techniques based on these findings, these must be tempered by identifying the limitations of this research. These findings are based on a single adaptation from one author and one book and do not take into account the previous four adaptations in the franchise, undertaken by differing directors, so it must be recognized that the response analysis of *Breaking Dawn - Part 2* (2012) may be a very unique, non-typical reaction to an adaptation.

Due to the large amount of online data provided by the fan forums, it must also be acknowledged that my own very targeted filtering parameters, both when selecting sites to examine and discussion threads to analyse, may have limited the breadth of response uncovered .

That notwithstanding, this work does contribute to the literature on female online communities, such as that carried out by Bury and Baym, building upon their studies of private email lists, and bringing the research up to date by expanding analysis into much larger, public female cyberspaces, with broader

demographics. Complimenting their studies into social behaviour online, my findings demonstrate a more comprehensive audience response, combining the intellectual, emotional and physical reactions to a fan object, which unites the previously juxtaposed stereotypes of the aficionado and the 'fangirl'.

My findings also provide further corroborative evidence of the instability and transient nature of online data, as per Whiteman's research, and highlight also the sometime rapid decline in online activity, whereby fan sites identified as potential for further analysis in this project either disappeared or ceased to be updated within the relatively short data collection period of this research.

These findings might also suggest the relatively small number of participating fans engaging in discussion online. From an initially very large potential data set, my final subset of ten online sites might imply that, whilst a fandom may appear outwardly large and expansive, the number of fans actively engaged may in fact be much smaller and more concentrated. This is difficult to conclude categorically without knowing the precise levels of fan engagement earlier on in the fandom's lifecycle, and might rather be a reflection of a fandom at the end of its lifespan, representing instead a small core of loyal and constant fans rather than the plethora of non-participatory fan sites created in 2008 in response to the films and its actors.

My findings regarding the fans' detailed reading practices challenge Birkert's belief that intensive reading practices have been lost in our digital age. In fact the internet has provided a new and expansive digital 'space' for fan readers to congregate and create online communities which facilitate and nurture intensive reading and shared interpretation, and there is strong evidence to prove that fan readers *do* re-read books multiple times.

My findings also expand upon Murray's conceptualisation of adaptation as a commercial and economic system by highlighting the potential profit-related benefits to film companies of approaching adaptation from the marketing perspective of giving 'added value'. Using adaptation in a more experimental and expansive way could lead to increased levels of immersion and participation from fans which in turn would encourage added consumption. Adaptations which adhere to fidelity are predictable, safe and have a limited timeframe but by offering fans altered story arcs, added characterisation, and even different final outcomes, this encourages the participation and engagement of fans, as both producers and consumers.

These research findings could also be of interest to authors who wish to experiment in collaborative reworkings of their novels and are receptive to fans 'readings' of their work. In her study Skains has already identified a new wave of authors within the fantasy and sci-fi genres, such as Neil Gaiman and Jasper Fforde, who have created interactive and participatory websites and who are already beginning to include the reader in their writing process:

Online novel communities, where they exist, are models of a bridge between print and digital storytelling conventions. They expand the dynamic between author, text, and reader by offering a space for metafictional discourse, and thus providing opportunities for readers to influence and shape the texts the author is creating through feedback and reader-contributed material. (Skains 2010, p.96)

As an extension to this fledgling practice, authors could also embrace the adaptation process as an additional storytelling convention. Rather than signing their book rights over to film companies, authors could approach the adaptation process as a creative vehicle through which they might rework their own narrative, expanding on characterisation, developing relationships and showcasing reworked scenarios and endings.

If there is evidence that the storyworld and its characters are ultimately more important to fans than a strict adherence to canon, as has been intimated by some *Twilight* fans, then this highlights the potential commercial opportunity to be gained from moving towards adapting fan fiction, as another way of keeping fandoms interested and alive, as it is evident from my own observations that fandoms need to be in a state of forward motion, with some new input, be it book, film or TV series, on the horizon in order to thrive.

Contrastingly, my work suggests there is a need for further research into the demise of fandoms. In line with Whiteman & Metivier's 2013 paper which examined the 'deaths' of two popular fandoms – City of Angel and the Sugar Quill – I too have witnessed the post-finale demise of the *Twilight* fandom online. Whiteman & Metivier identify what they call "'zombie" fan communities - online fan cultures that have entered into a state of atrophy, decline or impending demise.' (Whiteman and Metivier 2013, p.270). Having immersed myself in the *Twilight* fandom for two years, noting its longevity and strength of engagement, I too have witnessed a rapid decline in activity and the abrupt closure of one of its main fan forums, *TwilightMoms.com*.

Such brusque endings, after fans have invested so much time and passion into their fan-object, are a surprising phenomenon, particularly when a fan audience moves swiftly to a new allegiance. This might suggest that 'fandom' as a phenomenon in itself, and the sense of community it affords, is of more significance to audiences than the object of that fandom. At the end of the *Twilight* franchise I witnessed at first hand an orchestrated marketing campaign to steer the newly bereaved *Twilight* fans towards the upcoming *Mortal Instruments* franchise. This was achieved by giving away 'teaser' first chapter booklets of the novel *The Mortal Instruments: City of Bones* by Cassandra Clare, which were branded and aimed at a similar audience demographic and personally endorsed by Stephenie Meyer. Research into such marketing

attempts would be commercially valuable, to discover whether lucrative fan audiences can indeed be 'steered' toward a new franchise allegiance.

As a result of my study further research might also be conducted into other large fandoms actively engaged online, such as *Game of Thrones*, *Sherlock* or *The Hunger Games*, to apply this response analysis methodology to a particular TV episode or film in relation to its source book. It would be interesting to ascertain whether other fan audiences respond as positively to changes in their own canon or to investigate whether other TV or film companies adopt a similar culture of dialogue with fans. In particular it would be helpful to study another female-driven franchise, with a female adapting team of author, screenwriter and director, to ascertain whether this female dynamic was instrumental in the collaborative and inclusive relationship with fans. It might also be worthwhile conducting similar cataloguing exercises on other prolific fandoms to compare and contrast their composition in terms fan content versus official content, longevity, peaks of interest and types of content (i.e. celebrity focus, book discussion, film discussion etc).

Of most interest to me, however, would be further investigation to see if this phenomenon of collaborative and creative adaptation techniques could be replicated by another author who is willing to experiment with differing adaptive outcomes. Harnessing the interpretive readings of fan audiences could instigate an exciting creative journey for an author who is willing to see their novel as malleable, and commercially the financial rewards that such inventiveness might afford are worthy of investigation.

And finally, in direct response to my research question, I am encouraged to have discovered that, contrary to Bluestone's beliefs, adaptation has the potential to breathe new life into a book, and provide added satisfaction, rather than diminish it. As Hutcheon concludes in *A Theory of Adaptation*:

An adaptation is not vampiric: it does not draw the life-blood from its source and leave it dying or dead, nor is it paler than the adapted work. It may, on the contrary, keep that prior work alive, giving it an afterlife it would never have had otherwise. (Hutcheon 2006, p.176)

As an example of how novel and film can co-exist and co-depend as companion pieces, creating a cyclic process for fans of reading, viewing, re-reading and re-viewing, each time with an added depth of understanding and satisfaction, the *Twilight* franchise, with vampires at its heart, may have injected the adaptation debate with fresh blood after all.

APPENDIX A

Spreadsheets showing cataloguing of Twilight fan sites

Complete catalogue of all 377 English language fan sites

Name	URL	Web host	Classification	Notes	Date started	Last post ; membs	Posts or / Public
A Chemical Reacts	http://achemicalreacts.com/	self hosted	NLE		?		NA
A Twenty Something Twilight Fan	http://atwentythingsomethingtwilightfan.webs.com/	webs.com	Fan blog		27/10/2008		Member
B A Twilight Life	http://atwentythingsomethingtwilightfan.webs.com/	proboards.com	Forum		01/07/2008	6972	162385
Academy Volterra	http://academyvolterra.proboards.com/index.cgi	proboards.com	Forum		Member login		Member
Alciefan's Twilight Fans	http://www.freewebs.com/alciefan/	freewebs.com	Fan site		2008	Not dated	NA
Alice Forever	http://aliceforever.com/	self hosted	NLE		?	?	NA
All Things Twilight	http://allthings twilight.proboards.com/	proboards.com	Forum		?	Maintenance	Member
Amore di Anima	http://amoredianima.proboards.com/	proboards.com	Forum		01/04/2007	1436	15858
An Edward and Bella Fan	http://www.freewebs.com/anedwardandbellafan/index.htm	freewebs.com	Fan site		01/07/2007	04/09/2011	Public
An Apple Each Day	http://www.teamtwilight.piczo.com/?cr=2	piczo.com	NLE		?	?	NA
Apple in Hand	no longer exists		NLE		?	?	NA
Australian Site: Fire and Ice	no longer exists	myspace.com	NLE		?	?	NA
Australian Site: Twilight_Aus (LiveJournal)	http://twilight-aus.livejournal.com/profile	livejournal.com	Forum		15/11/2006	04/10/2012	Public
Australian site: Twilight Australia	http://twilightaustralia.tumblr.com/	tumblr.com	NLE		?	?	NA
Be Bitten: The Twilight Series Boards	http://thetwilightseriesboards.com/forum/	self hosted	Forum		01/03/2009	24/10/2012	Public
Be My Obsession	http://be-my-obsession.6x.to/	6x.to	Fan site		24/05/2008	01/03/2009	NA
Bella and Edward Forever	http://www.freewebs.com/bellaedward101/index.htm	freewebs.com	Fan site + forum		?	?	Public
The Bella Cullen Project (Twilight Band)	http://www.myspace.com/thebellacullenproject	myspace.com	Twilight band page		06/08/2007	19/06/2010	Public
Bella and Edward Obsession	http://www.bellaedwardobsession.piczo.com/?cr=3	piczo.com	Unknown		?	not dated	NA
Bella Luna	http://i3.invisionfree.com/luna_v2/index.php?act=idx	invisionfree.com	Forum		2009?	30/11/2012	Member
Bella Penombra	http://www.bellapenombra.net/	self hosted	NLE		?	?	NA
Bella Rocks (Twilight inspired band)	http://www.myspace.com/bellarocksmusic	myspace.com	Twilight band page		10/04/2008	19/05/2010	NA
BellaandEdward.com	http://bellaandedward.com/	self hosted	Fan site + forum	Forum out of order	2006	Current	NA
Bella Fans	http://www.bellafans.webs.com/	webs.com	Forum		01/01/2009	02/12/2009	Public
BellaandEdward	http://www.bellaandedward.piczo.com/?cr=7	piczo.com	NLE		?	?	NA
Beyond Twilight	http://i3.invisionfree.com/LET_ME_SIGN/index.php	invisionfree.com	Forum		01/05/2010	26/05/2010	Member
Bite at Dawn	http://www.biteatdawn.piczo.com/?cr=3	piczo.com	NLE		?	?	NA
Bite Me	http://www.freewebs.com/jakeblack/	freewebs.com	Fan site		2007	2007	NA
Bite Me (A Twilight Podcast)	http://bitmeatwilightpodcast.blogspot.co.uk/	blogspot.co.uk	Fan blog		08/01/2008	24/06/2009	NA
Bite of Twilight	http://www.biteoftwilight.com/	self hosted	Non Twilight content	Financial advice	27/04/2010	26/11/2011	NA
Bitten	http://www.freewebs.com/cullenbite/index.htm	freewebs.com	NLE		?	?	NA
Bitten (Twilight Podcasting)	http://www.bittenpodcast.com/	self hosted	NLE		?	?	Member
Bittersweet Forever	http://www.bittenpodcast.com/	self hosted	NLE		?	?	NA
Bloody Craving	http://www.freewebs.com/bloodycraving/	freewebs.com	Fan blog		15/07/2008	25/01/2009	NA
Blurring Boundaries (shortes blog ever!)	http://blurringtheboundaries.weebly.com/index.html	weebly.com	Fan blog		31/05/2008	16/11/2008	Public
Bring on the Shakes	http://www.freewebs.com/veggie-vamp/	freewebs.com	Forum		?	current	Member
B Café Mom - Fans of Stephanie Meyer and her Twili	http://www.cafemom.com/group/34193	cafemom.com	Forum	Offline	?	?	NA
Can't Fight an Eclipse	http://i34.invisionfree.com/an_eclipse/index.php?act=idx	invisionfree.com	Forum		?	?	NA
Club Twilight	no longer exists	group.ps	NLE		?	?	NA
Cold Twilight	http://www.coldtwilight.com/	self hosted	Non Twilight content	Health info	Only post	31/08/2011	NA
Comet at Twilight	http://cometatwilight.proboards.com/	proboards.com	NLE		?	?	NA
Coven of Eternal Twilight	http://www.covenofeternaltwilight.com/	self hosted	Book info page		?	not dated	NA
A Coven of Wolves	http://werewolvesden-werewolvesofapush.blogspot.co.uk/	blogspot.co.uk	NLE		?	?	NA
Craving Cullens	http://www.freewebs.com/cravingcullens/	freewebs.com	Fan site		?	not dated	NA
Crazy for Twilight	http://crazyfortwilight.blogspot.co.uk/	blogspot.co.uk	Fan blog		01/10/2008	20/06/2012	NA
Cullen and Hale	http://www.cullenandhale.com/	self hosted	NLE		?	?	NA
Cullen Boys Anonymous	http://techeccodeas.com/	self hosted	Non Twilight content	Technology blog	?	?	NA
Cullen City	http://cullencity.webs.com/	webs.com	Role play forum		2007	2008	Member
The Cullen Clan	http://www.freewebs.com/the-cullen-clan/	freewebs.com	Fan blog		2008	02/08/2008	NA
The Cullen Clan!	http://www.freewebs.com/the-cullen-clan/	freewebs.com	Fan blog		2006		NA
Cullen Coven	http://www.freewebs.com/cullen-coven/	freewebs.com	Fan blog		2008	?	NA
Cullen Crazy	http://www.cullen-crazy.co.nr/%20ndick=	webs.com	NLE		?		NA
Cullen Crypt	http://www.freewebs.com/thecullens/	freewebs.com	Fan blog		2008		NA
Cullen Cults	http://cullencults.blogspot.co.uk/	blogspot.co.uk	Fan blog	German	2011		NA
The Cullen Family	http://www.thecullenfamily.piczo.com/?cr=2	piczo.com	BLANK		?	not dated	NA
The Cullens and other Twilight Characters	http://www.thecullensliveforever.webs.com/	webs.com	Fan blog + forum		27/06/2009	04/04/2012	Public
B The Cullens Online	http://thecullensonline.ning.com/	ning.com	Role play forum		Member login	current	Member
Cullex	http://cullenx.proboards.com/	proboards.com	Forum		30/05/2011	26/10/2011	Public

Cullen Family	http://www.freewebs.com/cullenfamily/	freewebs.com	Fan site	not dated	not dated	216	43	NA
Cullen Vampires	http://www.freewebs.com/edwardvampire/	freewebs.com	Fan site + forum	2008	2008	83	261541	Public
B Dazzle ME Please	http://stepmeyer.proboards.com/	proboards.com	Role play forum	15/05/2008	current			NA
Devoted Twilights	http://dazlemplease.picoz.com/?cr=5	picoz.com	Fan site	2008	not dated			NA
Dream Come True / Forever Eighteen	http://www.freewebs.com/devotedtwilights/index.htm	freewebs.com	Fan site	2008	current	336	3298	NA
Dream Twilight	http://www.forevereighteen.proboards.com/	proboards.com	Role play forum	2008	current			NA
Dreaming of Twilight	http://www.freewebs.com/emmettsgirl/	freewebs.com	Fan blog	not dated	2009			NA
Dusk to Dawn	http://www.dottwilight.proboards.com/	proboards.com	NLE	?	?			NA
Eclipse DVD	http://untildusk.proboards.com/	proboards.com	Role play forum	Member login	Member login			Member
The EC Fan Club	http://eclipsedvdrelease.com	self hosted	NLE	?	?			NA
Edward and Bella For Life and Beyond	http://anedwardlovershome.webs.com/	webs.com	Fan blog	20/09/2008	not dated			NA
Edward Cullen.net	http://www.freewebs.com/bellaandedwardforlifendbeyond/	freewebs.com	Fan blog	2007	not dated			NA
Edward Cullen Completes Me	http://edward-cullen.net/	self hosted	Non Twilight content iPhone info	?	?			NA
Edward Cullen Coven	http://www.freewebs.com/edwardcullencompletesme/	freewebs.com	Single page	2006	not dated			NA
Edward Cullen Every Girls Dream	http://www.freewebs.com/becacfer/	freewebs.com	Fan site	2006	not dated			NA
Edward Cullen Last Forever	http://www.freewebs.com/camci-myobsession/index.htm	freewebs.com	Fan site	2006	not dated - 2008?			NA
Edward Cullen Online	http://www.freewebs.com/edwardcullenlastforever/	freewebs.com	Fan site	2008	not dated			NA
Edward Cullen The One and Only	http://www.freewebs.com/edwardcullenlvr/	freewebs.com	Fan site	Jun-09	current			NA
Edward Our Fantasy [sic]	http://www.freewebs.com/edwardcullenonline.com/	freewebs.com	Fan site + chat	2006	06/02/2012			NA
The Edward Plushie Club	http://www.freewebs.com/edward-our-fantasy/	freewebs.com	Fan site	2006	not dated			NA
Edward V Jacob	http://www.fanfiction.com/en/search/edwardplushieclub.heaven	fanfiction.com	NLE	?	?			NA
Edward's Meadow	http://www.freewebs.com/edwardvjacob/	freewebs.com	Fan site + chat	Jan-08	21/10/2011			NA
Enough for Forever (U)	http://www.edwardsmeadow.com/	self hosted	Fan site + forum	2007	current	16	14	Public
Enough for Forever (darkbb)	http://www.freewebs.com/twilightvalvo/	freewebs.com	Fan site	2008	not dated			NA
Epoch Twilight	http://twilight-book.livejournal.com/	livejournal.com	NLE	?	?			NA
B Equinox RPG	http://enoughforever-darkbb.com/forum	proboards.com	Forum	2008	Jun-10	89	12962	Public
Eternal Annoyances	http://epochtwilight-proboards.com/	proboards.com	NLE	?	?			NA
Eternal Love	http://www.equinoxrpg.com/	self hosted	Role play forum	2007	current			Member
Eternal Twilight	http://slaphappyvamps.proboards.com/	proboards.com	Forum	?	?			Member
Eventide Alchemy	http://www.freewebs.com/asifidneverexisted/	freewebs.com	Fan site	01/07/2008	31/07/2010			NA
Everglow - EdwardandBella.net	http://www.freewebs.com/edwardandbellanet/	proboards.com	NLE	?	?			NA
Everlasting Twilight	http://twilightfan94.proboards.com/	proboards.com	Role play forum	Member login	Member login			Member
Everything Twilight	http://www.invisionfree.com/Eventide_Alchemy/index.php2	invisionfree.com	NLE	?	?			NA
B Exactly His Brand of Heroine	http://edwardandbella.net	self hosted	NLE	?	?			NA
A Fanfiction.net Twilight page	http://everlastingrpg.proboards.com/	proboards.com	Fan site	not dated	not dated			NA
Fanfire Forums	http://EverythingTwilight.com	self hosted	NLE	?	?			NA
B Fanpop - The Twilight Fan Club	http://www.twilightheroine.proboards.com/	proboards.com	Role play forum	Oct-07	31/07/2012	139	14759	NA
Fantastic Twihards (YouTube channel)	http://www.fanfiction.net/book/Twilight/	proboards.com	Fan Fiction	2006	May-11			NA
Fatal Attraction	http://www.freewebs.com/fanfires/	freewebs.com	Forum	2007	current	329		Public
A Fire and Ice - A Twilight Podcast	http://www.fanpop.com/clubs/twilight-series	fanpop.com	Subpage of fan site	2007	current			NA
For Forks Sake	http://www.youtube.com/user/FantasticTwihards	youtube.com	Videos	Feb-08				NA
For the Twilight Series Lower	http://www.freewebs.com/gorgeouscent/	freewebs.com	Fan blog	2006	not dated			NA
Forbidden Loyalties	http://www.mypodcast.com/index.html	mypodcast.com - permanently closed	NLE	?	?			NA
Forbidden Fruit	http://fireandice.mypodcast.com/index.html	livejournal.com	Fan journal	26/03/2008	current	240	mments	NA
Forbidden Love	http://for-forks-sake.livejournal.com/	freewebs.com	Fan site + forum	2007	Dec-11	624		Public
Forest's Edge	http://www.freewebs.com/twilightserieslovers/	proboards.com	Role play forum	not dated	Nov-12	71		Public
B Forever Dawn.net	http://forbiddenloyalties.proboards.com/	proboards.com	Forum	?	?	144	6222	NA
Forever in Ice	http://j215.invisionfree.com/The_Forbidden_Fruit/index.php?act=k	theiforum.com	NLE	not dated	not dated			NA
Forever in the Meadow	http://www35.thehiddenfruit.theiforum.com/	invisionfree.com	Forum	2008	not dated			NA
Forever Twilight	http://j215.invisionfree.com/Forbidden_Love/index.php2	invisionfree.com	Forum	2008	29/03/2008	2	26	Public
B Forks, Washington	http://forestsedge.forumotion.com/	forumotion.com	Fan blog	17/08/2010	23/06/2012			NA
From Twilight to Eclipse	http://www.forever-dawn.net/	self hosted	NLE	?	?			NA
Glittery Boyfriend	http://foreverinnice.ring.com/	ring.com	Fan site	not dated	not dated			NA
His Crooked Smile	http://foreverinthemeadow.8m.com/	8m.com	NLE	?	?			NA
A I Felt Hope.net	http://forever1901.proboards.com/	proboards.com	Role play forum	11/11/2008	18/12/2012	129	3252	Public
Infinite Twilight	http://forkswashington17.proboards.com/	proboards.com	Fan blog + forum	2008	01/07/2010	22		Public
	http://www.freewebs.com/topazeyex17/index.htm	freewebs.com	Fan site + chat	not dated	not dated			NA
	http://www.gitteryboyfriend.webs.com/	webs.com	Fan site	26/03/2008	12/05/2009			NA
	http://hiscrookedsmile.co.nr/	self hosted	Subpage of adaptation site	?	?			NA
	http://pagetopremiere.com/tag/twilight/	self hosted	NLE	?	?			NA
	http://i felthope.net/	self hosted	Fan site	2008	2008			NA
	http://infinite twilight.picoz.com/?cr=3	picoz.com						

Into The Twilight	http://into-the-twilight.net	self hosted	NLE	?	?	?	NA
B Irish Twilight Fans	http://www.irish twilight fans.com/	self hosted	Fan site	2009	Nov-12	not dated	NA
Irritable Grizzly	http://www.freewebs.com/irritablegrizzly/	freewebs.com	Fan site	Mar-08	not dated		NA
Is Twilight Your Brand of Heroin	http://www.isyourbrandofheroin.webs.com/	webs.com	Fan site	2009			NA
I Dazzle You	http://www.freewebs.com/margaret1207/	freewebs.com	Fan site	2008	not dated		NA
Jacob Black Fans	http://z15.invisionfree.com/Jacob_Black_Fans/index.php?act=idx	invisionfree.com	Forum	?	?		NA
Jacob Fans	http://www.freewebs.com/jacobblackfan95/	freewebs.com	Fan site + forum	2008		39	28
Jacob v Edward	http://jacob-vs-edward.forum-motion.com	forum-motion.com	NLE	?	?		NA
Jasper/Alice - A Fan Community	http://jasperalice.livejournal.com/profile%22	livejournal.com	Fan journal	29/02/2008	?		NA
Kelmett (Kellan Lutz as Emmett)	http://kelmett-happens.livejournal.com/profile?admin=owner&sc	livejournal.com	Fan journal	2007			NA
Kismet - The Lion and the Lamb	http://www.freewebs.com/helionandlamb/	freewebs.com	Fan site + forum	2010	Jan-11	current	NA
B Life Beyond Twilight	http://lifebeyondtwilight.com/	self hosted	Forum not found	Oct-08	331802	195632	Member
B Lion and Lamb Love	http://lionandlamblove.org/	self hosted	Book reviews	?	?		NA
Lion and the Lamb	http://www.lion-and-lamb-xox.pico.com/?cr=6	pico.com	Fan site	?	not dated		NA
Lion and Lamb (Pico)	http://www.lion-and-lamb-xox.pico.com/?cr=6	pico.com	Fan site	?	?		NA
The Lion and the Lamb (Pico)	http://www.lionandthelamb.pico.com/?cr=3&fm=y	pico.com	Role play forum	2008	Dec-12	36	2187
The Lion and the Lamb RPG	http://z11.invisionfree.com/lion_and_the_lamb/index.php?act=idx	invisionfree.com	Fan journal	?	18/11/2012		NA
A The Lion fell in love with the Lamb (Livejournal)	http://lion-lamb.livejournal.com/	livejournal.com	Fan site	2009	not dated		NA
Lions and Lambs in Luv	http://lionsandlambsirluv.webs.com/gallery.htm	webs.com	Fan site	28/08/2010			NA
The Love of Edward and Bella	http://www.freewebs.com/edward-and-isabella/	freewebs.com	Fan site	01/05/2009			NA
Love the Cullens	http://www.freewebs.com/little-alice/	freewebs.com	Fan site	2008	not dated		NA
The Mitch Hansen Band (Twilight inspired music)	http://www.myspace.com/mitchhansenband	myspace.com	Twilight band page	17/09/2007	07/02/2012		NA
Mobile site: Go!twilight.mobi	http://www.go!twilight.com/	self hosted	Mobile map4	not dated	not dated		NA
Moonlit Temptation	http://www.freewebs.com/moonlittemptation/	freewebs.com	Fan site	Feb-08	12/08/2008		NA
Morte Romanica	http://morteromanica.proboards.com/	proboards.com	Role play forum	Aug-08	30/05/2011	21	144
Movie Casting Site	http://ic.lovetv.org/~dknot/twilight/	unknown	NLE	?	?		NA
Mrs Cullen	http://fangs.webs.com/index.htm	webs.com	Fan site	2008	not dated		NA
My Bella	http://www.mybellabracelet.com/index.html	self hosted	NLE	?	?		NA
My Brand of Heroin	http://www.freewebs.com/edwardbella2/	freewebs.com	Fan site + forum	2008	Apr-10	24	122
B My Twilight Purgatory	http://www.mytwilightpurgatory.com/	self hosted	Fan blog	Feb-09	Nov-12		NA
Myspace Blog: Fans of Jacob Black	http://www.myspace.com/jacobblackthewolf/blog	myspace.com	Fan site + blog	2008	25/05/2008		NA
Myspace Group: Edward, Bella & Jacob	no longer exists	myspace.com	NLE	?	?		NA
Myspace Group: Edward's Team	no longer exists	myspace.com	NLE	?	?		NA
Myspace Group: Official Cullenis Group	no longer exists	myspace.com	NLE	?	?		NA
Myspace Group: Official Alice & Jasper Site	http://www.myspace.com/officialaliceandjasper/blog	myspace.com	Fan site + blog	pre 2010	19/11/2010		NA
Myspace Group: TWILIGHT	no longer exists	myspace.com	NLE	?	?		NA
Myspace Group: Twilight Book	no longer exists	myspace.com	NLE	?	?		NA
Myspace Group: Twilight Equals Love	http://www.myspace.com/twilightlovesyou	myspace.com	NLE	?	?		NA
Myspace Group: Twilight is my Bible	no longer exists	myspace.com	NLE	?	?		NA
Myspace Group: Twilight Moms	no longer exists	myspace.com	NLE	?	?		NA
Myspace Page: Twilight_Movie	http://www.myspace.com/twilight_movie	myspace.com	Fan site + blog	?	2009		NA
Myspace Page: Twilight Movie	http://www.myspace.com/twilightmovie	myspace.com	Fan site + blog	?	29/01/2009		NA
Myspace Group: Twilight TM	no longer exists	myspace.com	NLE	?	?		NA
Myspace Group: We all want to be Bella	no longer exists	myspace.com	NLE	?	?		NA
Mystical Scent	http://www.mysticalscents.com/	self hosted	Non Twilight content! Tech, Ent + Health	Oct-10			NA
No More Marbles (YouTube channel)	http://www.youtube.com/nomoremarbles	youtube.com	You Tube	10/03/2007	2012		NA
Obsessed with Edward	http://www.freewebs.com/obsessedwithedward/	freewebs.com	Fan site + forum	2008	30/11/2012	142	Public
Official Team Jempwarth Website	http://officiempwarthws.ucoz.com/	ucoz.com	Fan site + forum	2008	24/10/2008	30	10
OME - a Twilight Sorority	http://www.twilightsorority.com/	self hosted	Twilight merchandisx Links to Twilight DV/0s	2009			NA
Once you go Black, you never go back!	http://www.freewebs.com/tsjacobfandub/	freewebs.com	Fan site + forum	2008	12/10/2010	143	Public
One From The Twilight	http://onefromthetwilight.blogspot.co.uk/	blogspot.com	NLE	?	?		NA
Our Twilight Chronicles	http://twilight-to-breakingdawn.blogspot.co.uk/	blogspot.co.uk	Non Twilight content! Fertility, casino, loans	2012	31/05/2011		NA
Ostentatious	http://ostentatious.proboards.com/	proboards.com	Forum	not dated			NA
Paper Moons: A Twilight inspired RPG	http://papermoons.proboards.com/	proboards.com	Role play forum	Member login	Member login		Member
Passion Eternal	http://z11.invisionfree.com/Passion_Eternal/index.php?act=idx	invisionfree.com	Forum	May-08	26/11/2011	33	167
Peace, Love, TWILIGHT!	http://peacelovetwilightblog.blogspot.co.uk/	blogspot.co.uk	Fan blog	malware warning	02/05/2011		NA
Perfect for Forever	http://www.perfectforever.6x.to/	6x.to	Fan site + forum	25/10/2008	Nov 2012 spam		Public
Perpetual Twilight	http://perpetualtwilight.afornumfree.com/	afornumfree.com	Forum	Jun-08	26/11/2011	33	120
Phases: A Twilight Podcast	http://phasesatwilightpodcast.com/	self hosted	Fan Blog	Oct-07	17/02/2009		NA

Fan site + forum	2008	Nov 2012	spam	?	215	Public
NLE	?	?				NA
Fan site	Mar-08	07/05/2012	?	170		Public
Fan site	2008	2008	re New Moon film			NA
Non Twilight content	2011					NA
Pop music blog						NA
FB page	2008			4E+07		Public
Single page	?		not dated			NA
Fan site + forum	2008	19/12/2009			872	Public
Fan fiction	2008	17/12/2012			733	256195
Fan site + forum	2009	Nov 2012	spam		24	Public
Forum	2008	current	current	No fligs (96 pgs)		Public
Fan site	24/07/2007	10/01/2013				NA
NLE	?	?				NA
Forum	Mar-09	Nov 2012	spam	3226	3727	Public
Fan site	2006	10/10/2008				NA
Fan site	not dated		not dated			NA
Fan site + blog	2008	04/09/2008				NA
Forum	2009	Nov 2012	spam	591	22279	Member
Fan site	2009	Feb 2012	spam			NA
Fan site + forum	2007	Nov 2012	spam		15	Public
Fan site	2009	not dated				NA
Fan site	2007	13/10/2008				NA
Fan site	10/03/2009	21/11/2009				NA
Non Twilight content	2012					NA
flyer printing	Feb-08	07/01/11		2022	109692	Public
Forum	?	?				NA
NLE	?					NA
Fan site	2011					NA
Fan site	not dated		not dated			NA
NLE	?					NA
Fan site	2008	current				NA
Forum	not dated		current			NA
Fan site	21/01/2008	Nov 2012	spam	19	733	Member
NLE	?					Public
Fan site + forum	2007	current		8971	522034	Public
NLE	?					NA
NLE	?					NA
Role play forum	not dated		not dated			NA
NLE	?					NA
Fan site + forum	Jan-08	Nov 2012	spam			Member
Forum	Jul-07	Nov 2012	spam	171	582	Public
Fan site	not dated		not dated			NA
Fan journal - photoshop mixups	?	24/08/2012				NA
Fan site + forum	2008	current		45391	3E+06	Public
Fan blog	not dated		not dated			NA
Fan movie site	2008	current				NA
Fan blog	Jan-09	current				NA
NLE	?					NA
NLE	?					NA
Fan site + forum	Jan-08	Nov 2012	spam			NA
Forum	Jul-07	Nov 2012	spam	171	582	Public
Fan site	not dated		not dated			NA
Fan journal - photoshop mixups	?	24/08/2012				NA
Fan site + forum	2008	current		45391	3E+06	Public
Fan blog	not dated		not dated			NA
Fan movie site	2008	current				NA
Fan blog	Jan-09	current				NA
NLE	?					NA
NLE	?					NA
Fan site	2007		not dated			NA
NLE	?					NA
Forum	Aug-08	Nov 2012	spam	100	1436	Public
Forum	Apr-07	20/12/2012		777	20708	Public
Movie site	13/12/2007	14/11/2012				NA
NLE	?					NA
Fan site	pre 2009	current				NA
Fan site	?		current			NA
Fan site	not dated		not dated			NA
Fan site	pre 2009	Nov 2012	spam	6244	37	Member
Forum	not dated	Nov 2012	spam			NA
Chat		Nov 2012	spam			NA

Twilight Roleplaying Site	http://www.phpbb.com/phpbb/twilight.html	Role play forum	2008	11/07/2012	323	61373	Public
Twilight Rox	http://www.bebo.com/twilightrox	Fan site	Nov-07	not dated			NA
B The Twilight Saga	http://thetwilightssaga.com/	Official book site	2009	09/01/2013			NA
Twilight Saga Central	http://www.twilightsgacentral.net/	Non Twilight content	not dated	not dated			NA
Twilight Saga Fanaticz	no longer exists	NLE	?	?			NA
The Twilight Saga for the Slightly Obsessed	http://www.thetwilightsforslightlyobsessed.shawbiz.ca/	Fan site	2008	19/08/2008			NA
Twilight Saga Lovers	http://www.thetwilightsforslightlyobsessed.shawbiz.ca/	Forum	2008	12/09/2008	62	1	Public
The Twilight Saga Multiply	http://multiply.com/cancelled/twilightsga	NLE	?	?			NA
B Twilight Saga Review	http://twilight-review.com/	Fan site	May-09	19/09/2012			NA
B The Twilight Saga wiki	http://twilight-review.com/	Fan site	2009	current			NA
The Twilight Saga (yahoo group)	http://movies.groups.yahoo.com/group/thetwilightssaga/	Fan site	2009	08/09/2011	153		NA
The Twilight Saga (on webs.com)	http://www.twilightlovers888.webs.com/	Fan site	2006	not dated			NA
The Twilight Saga and The Host (on webs.com)	http://stephenie-meyers-books.webs.com/	NLE	?	?			NA
Twilight Series Fandom (LiveJournal)	http://twilight-fandom.livejournal.com/	Fan journal	28/08/2007	03/09/2010			NA
Twilight Teams	http://www.freewebs.com/twilightteams/	Fan site + forum	2008	Nov 2012 spam		65	Public
B Twilight Series Theories	http://www.freewebs.com/twilightteams/	Fan blog	Feb-08	current			NA
Twilight Series Fanatics	http://www.freewebs.com/surferchickisme/	Fan site + forum	2007	Nov 2012 spam		52	Public
A Twilight Source	http://twilightseriesfanatics.webs.com/	NLE	?	?			NA
Twilight Thirsty	http://twilightsource.com/	Fan site	May-08	current			NA
Twilight Treasury	http://www.twilight-thirsty-piczo.com/?cr=4&fmy=	Single page	?	not dated			NA
Twilight Twenties	http://www.twilighttreasury.com/	Fan site	Jan-09	26/11/2010			NA
Twilight Twins	http://twilighttwenties-proboards.com/	NLE	?	?			NA
Twilight UK	http://www.twilight-twins.webs.com/	Fan blog	May-08	20-Aug-08			NA
Twilight Ultimate	http://twilightuk.net/	Non Twilight content	not dated	not dated			NA
Twilight Universe	http://twilightultimate.piczo.com/?g=1&cr=6	NLE	?	?			NA
Twilight Vampire Evolution	http://www.twilight-uninterrupted.org/	Forum	Nov-07	not dated	229	1023	Public
Twilight Vampires	http://twilightuniverse-forum.com/	Fan blog	Apr-09	25/10/2009			NA
Twilight Weekly	http://evolutiontwilight.blogspot.co.uk/	Fan site	Dec-06	07/09/2007			NA
Twilight (at Runboard)	http://groups.yahoo.com/group/twilightvampires/	Fan site	Aug-08	20/03/2009			NA
Twilight (by Sarah)	http://twilightweekly.weebly.com/	Forum	22/06/2005	11/06/2010	8	26	Public
	http://bswilight.runboard.com/			only post			
	http://sarah-twilight.blogspot.co.uk/	Fan blog	28/12/2011			Series:•	NA
					252		
B Twilighted	http://www.twilighted.net/	Fan fiction	2008	current	190250	Stories	Member
Twilighted (at Piczo)	http://www.twilighted.piczo.com/?cr=6	NLE	?	?			NA
Twiligher (ning.com)	http://twiligher.ning.com/	NLE	?	?			NA
B Twiligher (at forumotion)	http://twilighers-forumotion.net/	Forum	Aug-08	current	448	17034	Public
B Twilighers	http://twilighers.org/	Fan site + forum	2007	12/08/2012	13902	264951	Public
Twilighers Anonymous	http://twilighersanonymous.com/	Fan site	?	current			NA
Twilighers Down Under	http://twilighersdownunder.com	NLE	?	?			NA
Twiligher's Hub	http://twiligher-hub.ning.com/	NLE	?	?			NA
Twilighers United	http://twilighersunited.blogspot.co.uk/	Ning community	not dated	14/07/2012			NA
Twilighers Writers	http://twiligherwriters.ning.com/	NLE	?	?			NA
TwilightsGurl	http://www.mystepheniemeyerseite.info/	NLE	?	?			NA
Twilights	http://www.freewebs.com/twilights/	Non Twilight content	not dated	?			NA
Twilight's Destiny	http://www.freewebs.com/twilightscray/	Fan site + forum	2007	not dated			NA
TwilightTheObsession	http://www.athetbreakofawn.proboards.com/	Role play forum	Jul-08	21/08/2009		312	Public
Twilight - A Way of Life	http://twilight-the-obsession.piczo.com/?cr=2	NLE	?	Jan 2013 spam	130	430	Public
Twilight-Headed	http://twilightawayofflife.proboards.com/	NLE	?	?			NA
Twilight-Lovers	http://twilightheaded.com	Forum	not dated	Dec 2012 spam	108	293	Member
Twilight...My Life	http://www.twilight-lovers.piczo.com/?cr=6&fmy=	NLE	?	?			NA
Twilight! The Apple Book	http://www.freewebs.com/twilightcray/	Fan site	Jul-07	not dated			NA
Twilight!!!!	http://www.freewebs.com/theapplebook/	Fan site	Jan-07	14/10/2008			NA
Twiliner	http://www.twiliner.webs.com/	NLE	?	?			NA
Twl-Hard (a site for Twilight Saga fans)	http://www.freewebs.com/13AliceCullen/	Fan site + blog	2007	28/08/2008			NA
Twl-Hards	http://www.freewebs.com/edwardandisabellacullen/	Fan site	23/05/2008	18/11/2008			NA
Twl-Light	https://sites.google.com/Twilight/	Fan site + forum	Dec-08	Nov 2012 spam		200	Public
TwlMamas	http://www.freewebs.com/twilight/	NLE	?	?			NA
Tworts	http://www.freewebs.com/twilight/	Fan site	not dated	not dated			NA
	http://twimamas.wordpress.com/	Fan site	Apr-09	Nov-09			NA
	http://tworts.weebly.com/	Fan site	30/08/2008	26/08/2009			NA

Twilight	invisionfree.com	Forum	Aug-08	11/10/2012	550	18,164	Public
Unconditionally and Irrevocably	freewebs.com	Fan site + forum	2008	16/01/2013	40	1138	Public
Unified Twilight Society	forumotion.com	Forum	27/09/2008	03/02/2012	184	6344	Public
Unite Twilight	pico.com	Single page	?	not dated			NA
Vampire Bites	wetpaint.com	Fan site + forum	Apr-09	19/08/2012			Public
Vampire Hunt	invisionfree.com	Fan site + forum	not dated	07/03/2009	49	121	Member
Vampire Obsession	freewebs.com	Fan site + forum	2006	06/10/2010		43	Public
Vampire Obsessions	freewebs.com	Fan site + forum	2006	11/05/2011		163	Public
Vampires Released	freewebs.com	Fan site	2007	not dated			NA
Vampires are Forever	webs.com	Fan site	not dated	not dated			NA
Vampires of Forks, Washington	wetpaint.com	Fan site + forum	2008	05/06/2012		56	Public
Vampires of Nite	proboards.com	Forum	Member only	not dated			Member
Vampire_Obsession	freewebs.com	NLE	?	?			NA
Vamps Go Veg	freewebs.com	Fan site + forum	2008	07/10/2010		15	Public
Vesperarium Graphics	invisionfree.com	Non Twilight content	Jul-07				NA
Visions of the Night	proboards.com	Forum	?	not dated			NA
Wanna Bet	freewebs.com	Fan site	2006	not dated			NA
We Love Edward!	freewebs.com	Fan site	2008	29/07/2009			NA
We Love the Twilight Series	freewebs.com	Fan site	2007	not dated			NA
We Support Stephanie Meyer	blogspot.co.uk	Fan site	23/08/2008	25/11/2009			NA
When you can live forever, what do you live for?	webs.com	Fan site	22/10/2008	18/08/2009			NA
With You	lost-star.org	NLE	?	?			NA
Yellow Porschey	webs.com	Fan site	2008	not dated			NA
You Are Exactly My Brand of Heroin	proboards.com	Forum	29/07/2008	Nov 2012 spam		501	Public
Zazzle Site	zazzle.com	Twilight merchandise	not dated	not dated	127		NA

Initial shortlist of fan sites

Name	URL	Web host	Classification Notes	Date started	Last post	Reg membs	Posts er / Public
B A Twilight Life	http://www.atwilightlife.proboards.com/	proboards.com	Forum	01/07/2008	22/08/2012	6972	162385 Member NA
B BellaandEdward.com	http://bellaandedward.com/	self hosted	Fan site + for Forum out of order	2006	Current		
B Café Mom - Fans of Stephenie Meyer and her T	http://www.cafenom.com/group/34193	cafenom.com	Forum		current		11506 Member
B The Cullen's Online	http://thecullensonline.ning.com/	ning.com	Role play forum	Member login	current		
B Dark Dusk	http://stepmeyer.proboards.com/	proboards.com	Role play forum	2008	current	83	261541 NA
B Edward Cullen Online	http://edwardcullenonline.com/	self hosted	Fan site	Jun-09	current		
B Edward's Meadow	http://www.edwardsmeadow.com/	self hosted	Fan site + forum	2007	current	16	14 Public
B Equinox RPG	http://www.equinoxrpg.com/	self hosted	Role play forum	2007	current		Member
B Exactly His Brand of Heroine	http://www.fanfiction.net/book/Twilight/	proboards.com	Role play forum	Oct-07	31/07/2012	139	14759 NA
B Fanpop - The Twilight Fan Club	http://www.fanpop.com/clubs/twilight-series	fanpop.com	Fan Fiction	2006	current		NA
A For Forks Sake	http://for-forks-sake.livejournal.com/	livejournal.com	Subpage of fan site	2007	current		NA
B Forever Dawn.net	http://www.forever-dawn.net/	self hosted	Fan Journal	26/03/2008	current	240 - 12149 comments	NA
B Forks, Washington	http://forkswashington17.proboards.com/	proboards.com	Fan blog	17/08/2010	23/06/2012		NA
A His Golden Eyes	http://pagetopremiere.com/tag/twilight/	self hosted	Subpage of adaptation site	11/11/2008	18/12/2012	129	3252 Public
B Irish Twilight Fans	http://www.irish Twilight fans.com/	self hosted	Fan site	2009	Nov-12		NA
B Life Beyond Twilight	http://lifebeyondtwilight.com/	self hosted	Fan site Book reviews	2010	Jan-11		NA
B Lion and Lamb Love	http://lionandlamblove.org/	self hosted	Fan site + forum	Oct-08	current	331802	193632 Member
A The Lion fell in love with the Lamb (LiveJournal)	http://lion-lamb.livejournal.com/	livejournal.com	Fan Journal	?	18/11/2012		NA
B My Twilight Purgatory	http://www.mytwilightpurgatory.com/	self hosted	Fan blog	Feb-09	Nov-12		NA
						2319 chapters, 854 stories, 19 series	
B Ramblings and Thoughts Twilight Section	http://raincloudsandedward.heavenforum.org/forum	heavenforum.org	Fan fiction	2008	current	6330	NA
B Simply Addicted	http://addicted.informe.com/	informe.com	Forum	2007	26/08/2012	447	28444 Public
B Sort of Beautiful (LiveJournal)	http://sortofbeautiful.livejournal.com/	livejournal.com	Fan Journal	Jul-07	current		NA
B Stephenie Says	http://stepheniesays.livejournal.com/	livejournal.com	Fan Journal	2007	26/09/2011		NA
B Twilight Archives	http://www.twilightarchives.com/	self hosted	Fan fiction	not dated	not dated	16478	5462 stories Public
A Twilight Coven Philippines	http://twilightcovenph.blogspot.co.uk/	blogspot.co.uk	Fan site	01/04/2008	29/10/2012		NA
B Twilight Facebook	https://www.facebook.com/twilight	facebook.com	FB page	2008	current	37720868	Public
A Twilight FanForum	http://www.fanforum.com/f132/	fanforum.com	Forum	2008	current	No figs	Public
B Twilight Fans Unite!	http://twilightfan27.proboards.com/	proboards.com	Forum	Mar-09	Nov 2012 spam	3226	3727 Public
B Twilight Guy	http://www.twilightguy.com/	self hosted	Fan site	2008	current		NA
A The Twilight Lexicon	http://www.twilightlexicon.com/	self hosted	Fan site + forum	2007	current	8971	522034 Public
A Twilight Moms	http://www.twightmoms.com/	self hosted	Fan site + forum	2008	current	45391	2689529 Public
B Twilight Movies	http://twilightmovies.org/blog/	self hosted	Fan movie site	2008	current		NA
B Twilight Newborns	http://www.twilightnewborns.com/	self hosted	Fan blog	Jan-09	current		NA
B Twilight Obsessors	http://www.foreverdawn89.proboards.com/	proboards.com	Forum	Apr-07	20/12/2012	777	20708 Public
B Twilight Originals	http://www.moviefanatic.com/movies/twilight/	self hosted	Movie site	13/12/2007	14/11/2012		NA
B Twilight Poison	http://www.twilightpoison.com/	self hosted	Fan site	pre 2009	current		NA
B The Twilight Saga	http://thetwilightsa.com/	self hosted	Official book site	2009	09/01/2013		NA
B The Twilight Saga Review	http://twilight-review.com/	self hosted	Fan site	May-09	19/09/2012		NA
B The Twilight Saga wiki	http://twilight-review.com/	self hosted	Fan site	2009	current		NA
B Twilight Series Theories	http://www.freewebs.com/twilightteams/	freewebs.com	Fan blog	Feb-08	current		NA
A Twilight Source	http://twilightsource.com/	self hosted	Fan site	May-08	current		NA
						Series: 452, Stories: 6429, Chapters: 48438	Member
B Twilighted	http://www.twilighted.net/	self hosted	Fan fiction	2008	current	190250	17034 Public
B Twilighiter (at forumotion)	http://twilighiter.forumotion.net/	forumotion.com	Forum	Aug-08	current	448	264951 Public
B Twilighters	http://twilighters.org/	self hosted	Fan site + forum	2007	12/08/2012	13902	

Final sub-set of 22 fan sites used for content analysis

Name	URL	Web hosting	Classification	Date started	Last post	Reg membs	Posts	Member / Misc
3 BellaandEdward.com	http://bellaandedward.com/	self-hosted	Fan site + forum	2006	current	Forum 000		
3 Edward Cullen Online	http://edwardcullenonline.com/	self-hosted	Fan site	Jun-09	current			
3 Edward's Meadow	http://www.edwardsmeadow.com/	self-hosted	Fan site + forum	2007	current - video interviews	16	14	Public
3 For Forks Sake	http://for-forks-sake.livejournal.com/	livejournal.com	Fan journal	26/03/2008	current	240	986 - 12149 comments	
3 His Golden Eyes	http://pagetopremiere.com/tag/twilight/	self-hosted	Fan journal	?	current			
3 The Lion Tell in love with the Lamb (Liv)	http://lion-lamb.livejournal.com/	livejournal.com	Subpage of adaptation	?	18/11/2012 BD2 review			
3 My Twilight Purgatory	http://www.mytwilightpurgatory.com/	self-hosted	Fan blog	Feb-09	23/11/2012 BD2 review			
3 Sort of Beautiful (LiveJournal)	http://sortofbeautiful.livejournal.com/	livejournal.com	Fan blog	Jul-07	current			
3 Twilight Coven Philippines	http://twilightcovenph.blogspot.co.uk/	blogspot.co.uk	Fan site	01/04/2008	01/02/2013 podcast review			
3 Twilight Facebook	https://www.facebook.com/twilight	facebook.com	FB page	2008	current	37720868		Public
3 Twilight FanForum	http://www.fanforum.com/t132/	self-hosted	Forum	2008	current	No figs	1000s! (96 pgs)	Public
3 Twilight Guy	http://www.twilightguy.com/	self-hosted	Fan site	2008	current			
3 The Twilight Lexicon	http://www.twilightlexicon.com/	self-hosted	Fan site + forum	2007	current	8971	522034	Public
3 Twilight Moms	http://www.twightmoms.com/	self-hosted	Fan site + forum	2007	current	45391	2689529	Public
3 Twilight Movies	http://twilightmovies.org/blog/	self-hosted	Fan movie site	2008	current			
3 Twilight Newborns	http://www.twilightnewborns.com/	self-hosted	Fan blog	Jan-09	current			
3 Twilight Originals	http://www.moviefanatic.com/movies/twilight/	self-hosted	Movie site	13/12/2007	current BD2 review			
3 Twilight Poison	http://www.twilightpoison.com/	self-hosted	Fan site	pre 2009	current			
3 The Twilight Saga	http://thetwightsaga.com/	self-hosted	Official book site	2009	current			
3 The Twilight Saga wiki	http://twilight-review.com/	self-hosted	Fan site	2009	current			
3 Twilight Series Theories	http://www.freewebs.com/twilightteams/	freewebs.com	Fan blog	Feb-08	current			
3 Twilight Source	http://twilightsource.com/	self-hosted	Fan site	May-08	current			

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